

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

FIRST ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

NEW-YORK STATE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

CONVENED AT

UTICA, OCTOBER 19, 1936.

PUBLISHED

FOR THE SOCIETY, 131 GENESSEE STREET,
UTICA, NEW YORK.

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1836.

MINUTES.

The First Annual Meeting of the New-York State Anti-Slavery Society convened at Utica, on Wednesday, the 19th of October, 1836. About four hundred delegates appeared and took their seats in the Bleecker street church, at 10 o'clock A. M.

The throne of grace was addressed by the Rev. Caleb Green, of Stillwater. Dr. Hiram Corlies, Vice President, from Washington County, was called to the chair, to preside over the deliberations of the meeting, assisted by Col. Reuben Sleeper, Vice President, from Livingston County, and Samuel Lightbody, Vice President, from Oneida County, and Wm. Greer, Jr., Vice President, from New York. Select portions of Scripture were read by Rev. A. Savage of Utica.

On motion, a Committee of three was appointed to nominate Secretaries, consisting of A. Stewart, Rev. A. Savage, and William Goodell, who reported the names of Josiah Andrews of Genessee, Co., P. V. Kellogg of Oneida Co., and R. G. Williams of New York, who were accordingly chosen.

On motion, a Committee of five was appointed to take the names of delegates, consisting of the Rev. Ira Pettibone, Rev. L. H. Loss, Rev. L. Wilcox, S. Kellogg and John Eddy.

On motion of Rev. O. Wetmore, a communication from Judge Jay, resigning his office as the President of the Society, was read by Wm. Goodell. On motion of A. Stewart, Esq., voted that the letter just read be published.

On motion of Rev. Beriah Green, a letter from the Rev. S. S. Jocelyn was read. On motion of Dr. Welcome A. Clarke of Whitestown, voted that this and all other communications be handed over to the Executive Committee for their disposal.

On motion of A. Stewart, Esq., voted that a Committee of nine be appointed to present business to this meeting. Wm. Green, Jr., Lorenzo Neely, Rev. A. Judson, Thomas C. Green, Beriah Green, Darlin Thompson, John Thomas, Lindley M. Moore, and Benj. Fish, were nominated and chosen as said Committee.

On motion of A. Stewart, Esq., voted that a Committee of five be appointed by the chairman to nominate officers for the ensuing year. Rev. George Bourne of New York, J. C. Delong, of Utica, Isaac Platt, of Delaware, Gurdon Grant, of Troy and Otis Clapp, of Palmyra, were appointed said Committee.

On motion of Rev. A. Savage, voted that a Committee of five be appointed to draft an address from this meeting to Abolitionists in the State of New

York. A. Stewart, Esq. Rev. R. Robinson, Col. R. Sleeper, Rev. Fayette Shepard and J. Elliot, were appointed said Committee.

On motion of Rev. A. Savage, voted that a Committee of nine be appointed to consider the propriety of changing the time of the Annual Meeting of the Society. E. Wright, Jr., Gilbert Dean, Jr., Isaac Platt, Thomas H. Canfield, A. Crane, Dyer Foot, S. S. Smith, Samuel Edwards and Dr. Hiram Corlies were appointed said Committee.

On motion of A. Stewart, Esq., voted that all who are members of any Anti-Slavery Society, although not delegated, be invited to take seats in this Convention.

On motion of Rev. O. Wetmore, voted that all members of Anti-Slavery Societies from other States be invited to take seats in this Convention.

The invitation was given by the Chairman for all abolitionists present, who were members of any Society, to give in their names as members of this Society.

The meeting took a recess until 2 P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman.

The Executive Committee offered their Annual Report through Mr. Goodell.

On motion, voted that it now be read. After listening with great interest and attention to the Report which occupied nearly two hours,

On motion of the Rev. H. G. Ludlow, of New York, seconded by Rev. Mr. Bourne, of New York, accompanied by remarks from each, and after remarks from E. Wright, Jr., of New York, A. Stewart, Esq., of Utica, and Rev. D. N. Merritt, of Rochester, the report was adopted.

Moved that the meeting take a recess until 7 o'clock in the evening.

EVENING SESSION.

The meeting convened at 7 o'clock.

The Committee on resolutions reported in part.

On motion, voted that the report of the Committee so far as they have reported, be accepted.

On motion of Rev. L. H. Loss, seconded by E. Wright, Jr., with appropriate remarks from each, the first resolution reported by the Committee, was adopted.

On motion of Rev. H. G. Ludlow, seconded by Mr. Hawley, of Auburn Theological Seminary, with appropriate remarks from each, and also from Pres. Green of Oneida Institute, A. Stewart, Esq., of Utica, Rev. Mr. Mitchell, of Utica, and Rev. Mr. Parker, of Chenango County, the 2d resolution was adopted.

On motion of Rev. E. N. Kirk, seconded by Rev. H. G. Ludlow, the 3d resolution was adopted.

Meeting adjourned till 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

THURSDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 20.

Society met agreeably to adjournment, at 9 A. M.

Prayer was offered by the Rev. H. H. Kellogg of Clinton.

The minutes of yesterday were read and approved.

Mr. R. G. Williams requested to be excused from further service as Secretary of this meeting, on account of other engagements, which request was granted and E. W. Clarke of Oswego, appointed Secretary in his place.

Mr. Green from the Committee for the arrangement of business, reported additional resolutions.

Resolved, That the report be accepted.

Rev. O. Wetmore, presented and read letters from Samuel Keyes of Essex Co. and Lyman A. Spalding of Lockport, Niagara Co., Vice Presidents of the Society.

On motion of R. G. Williams, a committee of three was appointed by the chair to draft a memorial to Congress, to be circulated for signatures among the abolitionists of this State, praying for the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia and the Territories, and for the suppression of the internal slave trade between the States.

E. Wright, Jr., Gerrit Smith, Esq., Rev. B. Green, were appointed this committee.

The Committee to draft an address, presented their report, and an address to the abolitionists of the State of New York, which was read by A. Stewart, Esq., the chairman.

E. Wright, Jr. of New York, moved, and Mr. Johnson of New York, seconded the acceptance of the report and the adoption of the address. After discussion by Rev. Theodore S. Wright, Gerrit Smith, of Peterboro', A. Stewart, Esq., and S. H. Addington, of Utica,

Resolved, That the address be accepted, and committed to the Executive Committee for publication.

The 4th resolution was moved by Wm. Goodell, to employ an agent in every county in this state, to visit every school district, to lecture and distribute publications. [After some discussion by the mover, E. Wright, Jr., R. G. Williams, Gerrit Smith, O. Wetmore and others, the resolution was amended and adopted in the afternoon.]

On motion, Resolved, That the sum of \$10,000 be raised the present year for the use of this Society, and that contributions, subscriptions and pledges be now taken for that purpose.

[About \$4,500 was pledged, including a few hundred dollars in cash contributed.]

Recess till 2 o'clock, P. M.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, 2, P. M.

The meeting was called to order by the chairman.

Mr. E. Wright, Jr., from the committee on changing the time of holding the anniversary, reported, and recommended that the Constitution be altered by substituting in the ninth article, the word September for the word October, so that the annual meeting shall be held on the third Wednesday of September in each year.

Resolved, that the report be accepted and adopted.

Resolution No. 6, was supported in a speech by Rev. H. G. Ludlow, of New York, and unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 7, was supported by Rev. Charles Stuart, of Whitesboro', Rev. Geo. Bourne, Rev. T. S. Wright, of New York and Mr. Yates, of Troy, and unanimously adopted.

The Committee on nominations reported, and upon motion it was adopted, by which the following gentlemen were duly elected officers of this Society.

Officers of the New-York State Anti-Slavery Society for the ensuing year.

President.

GERRIT SMITH, Esq., Peterboro', Madison County.

Vice Presidents.

GEORGE MILLER, Esq., Suffolk	County
DAVID LEAVITT, Esq., Kings	"
WILLIAM GREEN, Jr., New-York	"
Dr. HENRY WHITE, Westchester	"
DAVID B. JENT, Dutchess	"
PETER ROE, Orange	"
TOWNSEND HADDOCK, Ulster	"
JOSHUA LORD, Esq., Columbia	"
Rev. Dr. N. S. S. BEMAN, Rensselaer	"
Dr. HIRAM CORLISS, Washington	"
SAMUEL KEYES, Essex	"
Rev. RALPH ROBINSON, Oswego	"
OLIVER WESCOTT, Franklin	"
Gen. JOSEPH A. NORTHRUP, Lewis	"
SAMUEL LIGHTBODY, Oneida	"
Rev. GEORGE S. BOARDMAN, Jefferson	"
RUFUS S. PETERS, Esq., Otsego	"
ISAAC PLATT, Delaware	"
Rev. HENRY SNYDER, Chenango	"
Rev. MARCUS HARRISON, Tompkins	"
JOHN McVICKAR, Onondaga	"
D. C. LANSING, D. D., Cayuga	"
Rev. SAMUEL GRISWOLD, Steuben	"
GEORGE A. AVERY, Monroe	"
WILLIAM PATERSON, Genessee	"
Col. REUBEN SLEEPER, Livingston	"
Rev. THOMPSON S. HARRIS, Chataque	"
Hon. ISAAC PHELPS, Erie	"
L. A. SPALDING, Niagara	"

Corresponding Secretary.

WILLIAM GOODELL, Utica.

Recording Secretary.

Rev. OLIVER WETMORE, Utica.

Treasurer.

SPENCER KELLOGG, Utica.

Executive Committee.

ALVAN STEWART, Esq., Utica, Chairman.

Rev. BERTHA GREEN, Whitesboro'.

Rev. LEWIS H. LOSS,	Whitesboro'.
Dr. ARRA BLAIR,	Rome.
Rev. JOSEPH S. MITCHELL,	Utica.
Rev. AMOS SAVAGE,	"
JOHN BRADISH, Esq.,	"
JAMES C. DELONG,	"
GEORGE BROWN,	"
JACOB SNYDER,	"
REUBEN HOUGH,	Whitesboro'.
Dr. WELCOME A. CLARKE,	"

On the announcement of the names of the officers chosen by the Society, Gerrit Smith, Esq., of Peterboro', rose and said:—

I thank you, sir, and this Convention, for conferring this honor upon me. I appreciate the respect toward myself, and the kindness toward myself from which this act proceeded. And I esteem it no small honor, that has been conferred on me. It is an honor, and a great one, if from no other consideration than that the President of your Society must, from the fact of his official prominence, share largely in the reproaches and perils that fall to the lot of abolitionists. And when we think, sir, of the source of their reproaches and perils, how wicked that source is, and when we think how they are engaged in the cause of humanity and righteousness, these reproaches and perils may well be counted noble. But, sir, great as this honor is, I wish to decline it. And I would not ask you to release me from it, without giving some reasons for my release. I will give them briefly. One of these reasons is, sir, that I have but just passed the age of a young man, and such an office is better suited to the dignity and experience of more years. Another reason vastly more important than this, is the fact, that I am a young member of your society. It is scarcely a year since I joined your society. Whilst many others, who are now present, were bearing the heat and the burden of the day, and struggling in the beginning of this enterprise, (and the beginnings are more difficult than any subsequent stage,) I was wasting my time in fruitless endeavors to reform another society, a society, sir, which I have long been led to fear is incapable of reformation. For as the lawyers would say, it can not be reformed in its root or its branches, its main object or its incidents. Whilst you, sir, and your coadjutors were engaged in this noble enterprise, now before us, I was also wasting my time in carping at you, in finding fault with your measures. I do not now, sir, blame you for these measures. Like all the works of man, they are stamped with imperfection. The nearer we approach these measures and the more cordially we embrace them, the less fault we find with them, the less objections we see in them. Contrary to what we see in physical objects, the farther we keep away from them, the more they abound in faults and objections. But we know, sir, that these measures have been approved and blessed of God, and if we prosecute them

faithfully, with honest heads and honest hearts, they will be crowned with triumph. I have another objection to accepting this honor. There are between my home and this place, thirty miles of pretty bad roads, and the President of your society should be one of its acting officers; he should live in the place where your Executive Committee principally reside, or near the place, that he may frequently meet with them, and counsel with them. I could very rarely meet with this Committee. I am greatly attached to my home. Since God in his righteousness has brought desolation to my home, I love it more than ever. The spot once trod by the feet of my children, is dearer to me than when they trod it. It is painful to me, sir, to leave my home; and to be faithful to the trust confided to me, if I were to accept this office, I should be obliged to be here every few weeks. You have fit persons, many fit persons, in this neighborhood for this office.—Here is one, sir, I need go no farther than my friend, the President of Oneida Institute. We who were present last evening, and on whose ears he poured out “thoughts that breathed and words that burned,” we who know how he has devoted himself with fidelity for many years, to the advancement of this cause, how he has spoken and written and prayed and toiled for the dumb, we know his competency for this post. If I were allowed to name a person for this place, I would name him.

[After remarks from several gentlemen, Mr. Smith consented to wave his objections, and serve the Society by accepting the office.]

The Committee on nominations submitted, with their report, the following resolution, which was adopted.

Resolved, That the magnanimous self-denial, the unappalled fortitude, the arduous labors, and the unflinching perseverance of the Officers and Executive Committee of the New-York State Anti-Slavery Society, during the past year, are very affectionately appreciated, and most cordially approved by the Society.

Mr. Gerrit Smith, presented a paper from B. F. Cooper, Esq. of Utica, explanatory of his conduct as one of the committee of twenty-five, which led the mob into the church and broke up the Convention which formed this society on the 21st day of October, 1835.

Resolved, That the paper be submitted to the Executive Committee to be disposed of at their discretion.

On motion of Rev. S. S. Smith, Resolved, That during this evening but two addresses be heard on one resolution, and that no speaker occupy but 15 minutes each without the consent of the meeting.

Mr. Spencer Kellogg, Treasurer, read the Treasurer's annual report which was, on motion, accepted.

Recess until evening.

THURSDAY EVENING.

The Committee on a Memorial to Congress, presented a form, which was adopted.

Rev. H. H. Kellogg, of Clinton, spoke on the resolution recommending to Christian bodies, to address their Southern brethren on the subject of slavery.

Mr. R. G. Williams, of N. Y., spoke on the resolution, in relation to the circulation of anti-slavery publications.

Mr. L. Neely, of Orange Co. spoke on the resolution (No. 9,) relative to the exclusion of the colored people from our literary institutions.

Rev. Geo. Storrs, spoke on the resolution in relation to the duty of the churches in respect to holding fellowship with those who persist in the practice of slaveholding.

Prayer by Rev. T. S. Wright of N. Y.

Adjourned sine die.

RESOLUTIONS.

The following Resolutions were adopted during the Meeting :—

1. Resolved, That we regard that device of American Legislation which reduces man, made in the image of God, to the condition of a mere chattel, as annihilating all moral attributes and relations, and as necessarily involving the highest crime that can be committed on *moral being*; and consequently that whoever claims the right of property in man by virtue of a title founded in such legislation, makes himself a sinner of the first magnitude.

2. Resolved, That since Slavery is a rude and presumptuous invasion of the prerogatives of Jehovah who has expressly declared "All souls are mine," its abolition demands the moral energies of the Christian World.

3. Resolved, That we should prove ourselves unworthy of every claim to the character of philanthropists, of Christians, of patriots, and of the friends of liberty; if, with our views of American Slavery, we should terminate or remit our efforts in the cause of immediate emancipation.

4. Resolved, That agents of this, or of the Parent Society, or both, ought to be employed, without unnecessary delay, in every county of this state, to visit every township and school district in regular succession, to circulate our publications—to converse with individuals—to lecture as opportunity offers—to circulate petitions—to organize auxiliaries—and thus carry the knowledge of our principles and the adoption of our measures into every portion of the state, and that, with the blessing of God, we will sustain the State Society in the prosecution of this work, until it shall be fully accomplished.

5. Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Meeting, *Ten Thousand Dollars* should be raised for the use of this Society, for the coming year, and that the members of this Meeting be now invited to give their pledges as individuals or for their respective local societies for this purpose.

6. Resolved, That we welcome as most important and powerful coadjutors in the glorious cause of Emancipation, the females of our country.

7. Resolved, That the prejudice peculiar to our country, which subjects our colored brethren to a degrading distinction in our worshipping assemblies and schools, which withholds from them that kind and courteous treatment to which, as well as other citizens, they have a right, at public houses, on board steamboats, in stages, and in places of public concourse, is the very spirit of slavery, is nefarious and wicked, and should be practically reprobated and discountenanced.

8. Resolved, 'That the friends of the colored people deem it their duty to use their influence to procure places, and encourage colored youth to learn trades, and help them into honorable employments.

9. Resolved, 'That the prejudice which excludes *colored youth* from the advantages of our Colleges and Literary Institutions, is *unchristian, inhuman, and cruel*; and demands the unqualified reprehension of every friend of education, and philanthropist.

10. Resolved, That while as abolitionists, we disavow all connection with party politics; yet, feeling it our duty to exercise the elective franchise, we deeply regret the disposition of our fellow citizens to elevate to office men who openly sacrifice the rights of northern freemen to SOUTHERN SLAVERY.

11. Resolved, That we most cordially sympathize with our brethren, Birney, Nelson, Lovejoy, and others, who have been called to learn by experience, how to feel for "them that are in bonds as bound with them;" and we would offer sincere thanks to our great Protector, that though cast down they are not destroyed.

12. Resolved, That it be recommended to religious communities to memorialize their Southern brethren who hold their fellow men in bondage, remonstrating with them in the spirit of Christian love, and urging them to the duty of letting the oppressed go free.

13. Resolved, That we detest and abhor as the most nefarious of trafficks, the internal slave trade, which is now carried on between the states, attended as it is with most of the cruelties of the African slave trade, by which, more than ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY THOUSAND annually, are torn from their homes, and driven like beasts to a Southern market; and, that it is the duty of every freeman in this nation, to lift his voice against it, and cease not to petition Congress to put forth the same arm to stop this nefarious traffick, which crushed the African slave trade.

14. Resolved, That, as a member of His family, who is the Father of us all, every sufferer, and most of all the slave, has a strong claim on every man, for his warm sympathies, and prompt and strenuous aid.

15. Resolved, That the doctrine so often advanced in justification of slavery, that what is abstractly wrong is practically right, involves violence to human nature, contradiction to God, and the subversion of the standard and the disruption of the bonds of a pure morality.

16. Whereas, it was principally by the influence of Christianity, that the slave trade both in England and America, and recently slavery itself in the British West Indies, were abolished, and as it is by the same influence, that we can reasonably hope for its abolition in this country, therefore, Resolved, That the high and decided stand which the Christians of Great Britain have taken on this subject, and the disinterested and persevering efforts, which they are using for the abolition of slavery throughout the world, are very grateful to our feelings, and should meet a hearty response in the bosom of every Christian in the United States.

17. Resolved, That the females of our country are especially responsible for the prevalence and continuance of the cord of cast, which is fearfully withering and destructive in its bearing on our colored brethren.

18. Resolved, That the sophistry, threatenings and violence, which have been employed to intimidate and crush the abolitionists, afford appropriate and ample confirmation of the soundness of their doctrines, and the wisdom of their measures.

19. Resolved, That the friends of human nature have a right confidently to expect from the christian pulpit, a hearty and earnest advocacy of universal and immediate emancipation.

20. Resolved, That the present pressing crisis of the anti-slavery cause in this country, calls *loudly* for a more extensive circulation of anti-slavery publications, and that it is therefore the duty of abolitionists *personally*, to make immediate and vigorous efforts to get at least one anti-slavery periodical into every family in the land.

21. Resolved, That our hope for the speedy and bloodless abolition of slavery is in God alone, who can enlighten and sanctify the hearts of men—and that it is our duty in our closets, families, and social prayers to make this a subject of fervent supplication.

22. Resolved, That while we have a heart to pray, and a tongue to plead, and a hand to toil, we will, by the help of God, subserve without ceasing the cause of holy freedom.

23. Resolved, That the people of this State ought to petition their next Legislature to memorialize the national Congress in its legislative capacity, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia and the internal slave trade now carried on in that District and between the several states.

24. Resolved, That the system of American Slavery, which reduces men, made in the image of God, and redeemed by the blood of Christ, to the condition of beasts, calls loudly for the reprobation of the church; and that northern Christians especially, are called upon to bear a steady and faithful testimony against any branch of the church that in any way sanctions or upholds the slavery of this land; and if that testimony is still disregarded, it is the duty of the churches which are pure from this "shocking abomination" solemnly to withdraw fellowship from those professing Christians and churches who disregard their admissions.

25. Resolved, That every county, town, and district, be earnestly entreated to listen to the cry of 2,500,000 American citizens, robbed of all their rights, and without delay, to obtain as far as possible signatures to petitions to Congress, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and the territories, to put a stop to the internal slave trade, and prohibit the exportation of slaves to Texas.

26. Whereas—His Excellency, the Governor of this State, in his last annual message to the legislature of the same, thought proper to repeat the commonplace accusations of our opponents of that period, accusing Abolitionists of seditious and insurrectionary conduct, and whereas, the Hon. the Senate and House of Assembly in a preamble and resolutions adopted by them, saw fit fully to sanction the sentiments and statements of said message :

And whereas, in his said Message, His Excellency the Governor asserted it to be within the rightful and constitutional prerogatives of the Legislature of this

State, to enact penal laws prohibiting the circulation and publication of Anti-Slavery writings, and suppressing Anti-Slavery efforts, declaring that "*without the power to pass such laws, the states would not possess all the necessary means for preserving their external relations of peace among themselves,*" and only refrained from recommending their enactment, because it was alledged that abolitionism was on the decline :

And whereas, the said Senate and House of Assembly, in said preamble and resolutions have fully sanctioned and adopted this sentiment : Therefore,

Resolved, (1.) That since Abolitionism is *not* on the decline but on the advance in this State, it becomes the duty of Abolitionists, as well as of the people at large, to examine the subject, and meet the crisis it presents.

Resolved, (2.) That Abolitionists, not only as citizens and as innocent men, but as persons accused of crime, whether innocent or guilty, are entitled to be heard in self defense, before the Legislature of this State, and be held innocent until their guilt can be made to appear.

Resolved, (3.) That it is the duty of Abolitionists, and of all the friends of freedom and equal rights in this State, to petition the State Legislature to give the Abolitionists a full hearing in the premises, and extend to them such redress as truth and justice may be found to demand.

Resolved, (4.) That justice to the rights of a slandered and innocent class of citizens, a regard to the fundamental principles of human rights, a prudent regard for the public welfare, and for the freedom and independence of the non-slave-holding states, unitedly forbid the existence of any species of legislative action against Abolitionists.

Resolved, (5.) That we regard the legislative resolutions of the Hon. Senate and House of Assembly of this State, against Abolitionists, as an unconstitutional assumption of judicial power, yet exercised in a manner contrary to, and subversive of, all regular judicial proceedings, possessing all the essential features of an *ex post facto* law, substituting the unlimited infliction of public odium and prescription upon persons unconvicted of crime, for the definite and limited punishment awarded by law and executed by the public officers, and therefore, far more injurious to their victims and dangerous to the liberties of the people, than any penal enactments however unjust and despotic.

DELEGATES TO THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NEW-YORK STATE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Oneida County.—Benjamin S. Walcott, John Alexander, W. W. Alexander, Rev. A. Savage, Robert Alexander, Bradley Feal, Wm. D. Walcott, F. A. Spencer, S. Carver, Roswell Sayre, John Wheeler, Henry M. Gregory, F. D. Porter, Charles C. West, George Stedman, Benjamin Walker, Giles Waldo, S. Brigham, Wm. F. Marsh, H. Elmer, Geo. Peacock, G. H. Littlejohn, S. S. Sheldon, Rev. C. A. Clark, Solomon Prentiss, U. Dunning, Alexander M'Kellar, Robert J. Wood, Rev. S. Wells, Charles P. Bush, John W. Cook, Wm. Hunter, Ira Wells, E. E. Kirkland, Josiah Eaton, S. Bryant, H. P. Pond, H. W. Cobb, G. A. Cantine, Dr .

L. Z. Havens, George Waldo, B. F. Bullock, J. Prescott, W. Gates, S. A. Jackson, Rev. J. Myres, C. C. Mitchell, Rev. J. B. Shaw, O. C. Brown, S. M. Porine, W. J. Savage, S. P. Newland, L. Lawrence, A. Finch, H. D. Tucker, G. G. Ward, S. F. Ledyard, John Temple, F. W. Gould, P. V. Kellogg, E. Herrick, N. Flatwood, G. D. Foster, J. M. Martin, T. C. B. Knowlson, E. P. Clark, S. H. Ad-dington, Rev. G. Storrs, Nathan Cobb, S. N. Burnett, N. Sherrill, E. Fairchild, Geo. Brown, Wm. Underwood, T. Steele, G. Bartlett, W. A. Clark, Samuel Light-body, David Ambler, E. Pattison, S. Prentiss, Dr. A. Blair, Rev. A. Sedgwick, Rev. L. H. Loss, Lucius Pond, Daniel Pettibone, L. Prince, A. Thomas, A. Sey-mour, J. Morrison, Wm. K. Tibbys, H. Bushnell, A. Clemmer, Rev. Charles Stu-art, John Powell, O. Prescott, S. P. Gambia, H. Scovell, Rev. A. Cross, N. Tuck-er, P. C. Pettibone, J. S. Dixon, J. A. Canfield, Hiram Day, J. R. Everett, J. M. Bradley, C. Sexton, E. M. Higbee, Cha's Dickinson, J. Copeland Jr., Geo. Lawson, C. T. Wilkinson, D. Bartlett, J. Flanders Jr., F. C. Woodworth, Ed. Loomis, J. C. DeLong, Sam'l W. Green, S. E. Miner, G. L. Foster, Gaius Butler, Charles Coolige, L. M. Shepard, P. Rawson, J. A. Thurber, A. H. Gorton, Rev. G. Ratrio Parburt, D. Judson, S. B. Roberts, Rev. J. Brayton, M. Brayton, C. Grant, G. Grant, F. Dana, Rev. J. Ingersoll, Henry Crane, A. Gray, F. A. Gray, E. Hollis-ter, N. P. Bishop, R. Everett, Wm. D. Forten, Richard J. Butler, Rev. A. Crane, A. Brigham, P. A. Andreu, Thos. Holbrook, Thos. Buel, W. Warner, Joseph Foster, W. H. Chandler, J. Pattengill, L. P. Rising, Rev. P. Field, Ed. Raymonds, Norton Porter, Chas. Judson, Thos. Bolles, Rev. I. Pettibone, F. D. Cory, J. Thur-ber, H. Newland, A. Hanna, Thos. E. Jones, John Kneal, Wm. Wright, J. M. Benham, E. C. Clark, H. S. Clark, C. Calkins, J. R. Dixon, J. Dixon, J. J. Doo-little, W. W. Farwell, J. Ketcham, J. H. Kassan, J. M. Gilbert, H. O. Collins, G. Tompkins, W. S. Wilson, W. B. Sewell, E. C. Ward, F. Havens, W. F. Harris, H. Winslow, S. Whaley, H. A. Williams, E. C. Williams, T. B. Lyman, J. W. Pratt, D. C. Van Norman, Dr. S. W. Stewart, Rev. H. H. Kellogg, Thos. Williams, A. Stewart, Jacob Snyder, Spencer Kellogg, Geo. H. Smith, E. Scofield, John P. B. Batchelder, James Sayre, John Bradish, J. W. Doolittle, Shubal Storrs, J. E. Warner, Stephen Bushnell, E. Dorchester, J. Vanderhuyesen, Wm. Stacy, Wm. Woodard, L. Bailey, Abiram Mills, W. Kellogg, Frederick Kellogg, Palmer Townsend, Mr. Carr, E. Barber, Rev. Geo. Finney, John Wheeler, Wm. Castle, H. W. Cobb, Rev. J. S. Mitchell, Ira Robinson, A. Topliff, Luther Holbrook, Reuben Hough, S. A. Dewey, C. C. Chaffee, E. C. Geer, Victor C. Putman, Rev. Oliver Wetmore, Alvan Stewart, Rev. Beriah Green, Wm. Goodell, Rev. J. S. Mitchell, J. N. Todd.

Oswego County.—Edward W. Clark, T. E. Grant, A. S. Savage, A. S. Coleman, John N. Holmes, G. G. Doane, N. Smith, Rev. Ralph Robinson, Hartly Holmes, Wm. H. Petit, Horace Hitchcock, Norman Miller, J. E. Woodbridge, Moses W. Lester, Henry Rhode, Daniel W. Ingersoll, H. A. Stevens, T. C. Baker, T. S. Meacham, Dea. Meacham, Sylvester Brown, Hamilton Littlefield, Dr. D. Clark, Rev. J. Waterman, Rev. S. Denison, E. A. Coleman.

Otsego County.—Alvin Parmelee, F. M. Andrews, T. E. Turner, Charles Metcalf, F. W. Andrews, Horatio Pattengill, Humphrey Hallis, Smith Penfield, R. Peters, A. C. Lathrop, E. Tucker.

New-York City.—Wm. Green, Jr., Rev. Geo. Bourne, Rev. John Gray, L. W. Gilbert, E. Dorset, R. G. Williams, Wm. P. Hotchkiss, Rev. Theodore S. Wright, Rev. H. G. Ludlow, Rev. La Roy Sunderland, E. Wright, Jr., Chas. G. Gifford, Rev. Danl Clark, H. H. Garnet, Geo. M. Tracy, R. P. Derickson, Wm. A. Tap-pan, Wm. Johnston.

Clinton County.—Orson B. Ashman.

Dutchess County.—Gilbert Dean, Jr., Edward Canfield.

Schenectada County.—L. D. Baldwin, J. G. Dwyer, Richard P. G. Wright.

Monroe County.—A. Stedman, L. M. Moore, Rev. H. A. Sackett, Marcus Adams, Rev. D. N. Merritt, Samuel Cushing, Rev. David Marks, H. Barker, G. A. Avery, H. B. Sherman.

Madison County.—C. B. Lord, Luther Burrell, Rev. H. Gregg, O. Stevens, Martin Wilcox, Rev. H. S. Hamilton, E. H. Payson, A. Scofield, Rev. C. C. Cadwell, L. C. Walton. J. W. Adams, Willard Calton, Rev. Wm. B. Tompkins, Ezra Campbell, Rev. J. N. T. Tucker, E. S. Cadwell, Edward Lewis, Francis James, Edwin Lewis, Gerrit Smith, A. Raymond.

Montgomery County.—A. S. Seaton, Robert Brown, Thos. C. Geer, E. Tucker, James Carnduff.

Genessee County.—Rev. J. Elliott, Josiah Andrews.

St. Lawrence County.—Thos. H. Canfield.

Lewis County.—Benjamin Phelps, Rev. Henry Jones.

Livingston County.—Rev. R. Sleeper, R. Porter.

Onondaga County.—Chas. Clark, Horace Robins, S. Edwards, Philip Flint, D. Thompson, Seth Conklin, W. W. Porter.

Washington County.—Dr. Hiram Corliss, Abijah P. Beebe.

Albany County.—Rev. A. Judson, Rev. E. N. Kirk, G. Gray, T. Brook.

Orange County.—L. Neely.

Delaware County.—Isaac Platt, George Gerril, Robert D. Andrews, J. H. Kedzie, S. Hanford, Rev. F. Shepard, E. Hoyt.

Wayne County.—Otis Clapp, J. J. Thomas, G. H. Moore.

Chenango County.—Rev. J. M. Parker, Rev. E. A. Poole, V. Waters, Wm. W. Chapman, H. W. Lee, R. Seymour, Wm. Talcott, J. M. Fox.

Niagara County.—Wm. Adams, Josiah Tryon, Justus Dobbin, Ephraim Gregory.

Tompkins County.—Dyer Foote, Solomon Higgins, Samuel Higgins.

Rensselaer County.—Rev. Thos. J. Haswell, Rev. John J. Mitre, E. Grant, S. Town, Joseph Wolfe, James H. Howe, S. E. Miner.

Chataugue County.—Rev. J. Munson.

Ontario County.—Isaac Hathaway, Jared Hathaway.

Saratoga County.—Caleb Green.

Herkimer County.—S. Crosby, John Barber, L. Gaylord, Alfred Warrenner, Josiah Thompson, J. Campbell, E. Holcomb.

Cayuga County.—A. P. Hawley, Robert R. Kellogg, Rev. Z. Covell.

Orleans County.—A. Thomas.

Essex County.—Rev. Abraham Haff.

Sandwich Islands.—S. N. Castle.

Hennipine, Ill.—Chancy T. Gustin.

Danville, Ky.—Rev. J. D. Burchard.

Portage Co., Ohio.—Isaac Bigelow.

ANNUAL REPORT.

REASONS FOR GRATITUDE.

In presenting their first Annual Report, the Executive Committee of the New-York State Anti-Slavery Society would acknowledge, with devout gratitude the protecting *Providence* that has spared them another year, and caused them to dwell in safety, notwithstanding the scenes of violence in the midst of which the Society was, a year ago, organized. They find additional cause of thanksgiving on a review of the past year, in the consideration that those violent measures, disgraceful and demoralizing as they were, in themselves; have been over-ruled for the furtherance of the righteous cause they were designed to overwhelm, and for the promotion of which this Society was formed.

PERSECUTION INCREASES EFFORT.

So far from intimidating the friends of human rights, either in this city, this state, or any portion of our country, we have the most satisfactory evidence that the demonstration then made, was instrumental, not only of opening for the first time, the eyes of many, to a view of the dangers to which the rights of American citizens are exposed from the existence of slavery, but to nerve with fresh energy the phalanx of devoted men already enlisted for its overthrow.

AN INSTANCE IN POINT.

At the very time our Convention was in session, measures were in progress for holding a similar convention in Rhode Island. We have sufficient authority for the statement that a knowledge of the outrages committed in this city, and of the firm stand taken by our Convention, was among the prominent causes which produced the unprecedented expression of public feeling in that state in favor of the cause we cherish. More than eight hundred names were sent in, as appended to the call for a convention in that little state, which in territory and population, scarcely exceeds some of the inland counties of this. In one of the coldest days of the last winter, the greater part of the signers assembled at Providence, and after a session of three days, contributed two thousand dollars to the anti-slavery funds; established a central depository and commodious public reading room, in which the anti-slavery periodicals of Europe and America are spread out for the gratuitous perusal of citizens and strangers; at which the abolition literature of the times may be purchased in large or small quantities, and from which, by a systematic establishment of conveyances and agencies, a regular supply of periodicals is furnished for distribution in every part of that state, with the neighboring parts of Massachusetts and Connecticut. We can not, here, forbear the inquiry, *if little Rhode Island could do this, last winter, what should the great State of New York do, now?*

This single specimen may serve to show how vainly the enemies of human rights have labored, to stop the diffusion of liberal principles by brutal force.

PROGRESS OF THE CAUSE IN THIS STATE.

In our own state, the march of truth during the past year, though less rapid than we could desire, less vigorous than under different circumstances and with greater exertions, we might have witnessed, and hope to witness in future, has nevertheless been onward, uniform, prosperous, and steady.

The labors of Theodore D. Weld, have been crowned with signal success, at Utica, Rochester, Lockport, Brockport, and other places. At Troy, notwithstanding the violence he had to encounter, we have reason to believe he has performed a great and good work. The

friends of order, of liberty and of law, in that city and county, have been shown on what foundation they stand, and who are their enemies and friends. What use they will make of so important a discovery, must show, but these are cheering indications which warrant corresponding hopes.

Other agents have labored in this state to some extent, and, we believe, not without beneficial effects. In connection with the labors of Rev. Luman Wilcox, employed for a time, by the Executive Committee of this Society, a county society, auxiliary to ours, has been organized in Delaware County.

Occasional services have been rendered to the cause by several students of the Oneida Institute, at Whitesboro', and the Committee anticipate still more effectual assistance from the same quarter, during the regular vacations as they occur.

But it can not be denied that the whitening harvests of abolitionism, in this state, have been suffering for want of lecturing laborers during the past year, and are suffering still. Shall this lamentation be continued? Are there not lips, touched with a live coal from the altar of holy freedom? And are there not friends of liberty who will supply them with daily bread?

The Committee rejoice, in this connection, to mention the recent arrival among us, of the Rev. Geo. Storrs of New Hampshire, whose labors under the auspices of the Parent Society, by whom he is still sustained, have been highly useful. Other lecturing agents sustained by the same society are about entering, or have already entered upon the work in this state. Among these we may mention the Rev. A. Sedgwick of Rome, who has been several weeks in the field, and from whose labors we may confidently expect much good.

Mr. W. C. Rogers, of Utica, has recently been appointed by the Executive Committee of this Society, to lecture, collect funds, and procure subscriptions to our weekly publication. His efficiency and success, thus far, affords high promise of his usefulness to the cause.

A SUGGESTION.

Several others are needed to labor in the same way. An agent of this description to labor in every county, is much needed. He should visit every township, village, and school district. Our friends in different parts of the state, might render the Committee much service, by looking up, and commending to the Committee's attention, the suitable men for this service, and suggesting the most appropriate fields for their labor, and by assisting them, while engaged in their vicinities. The work of moral illumination and reform, must be made a work of patient, persevering, systematic, local and minute detail, before the mass of the community will be intelligently and beneficially moved to correct action. The experiments and the testimony of Dr. Chalmers of Edinburgh, on this point deserve an attention they have not received.

Much, very much of the moral efforts of the day are wasted, or the harvests left to perish ungathered, for want of this feature in our moral enterprises. Vague, general, random, and half-finished labors have often left a field more difficult to cultivate than if it had never been entered. The more obscure and remote portions of the country are scarcely reached at all. The farmers and mechanics, who constitute the bone and muscle of the community, and who would come up to the work of emancipation *en masse*, if they only had its claims fairly placed before them, are left comparatively unvisited, simply because they live in the seclusion of rural life ; while the rank and crowded hot-beds of aristocratic pride, corruption and vice, because more easy of access, more prominent, assembling larger audiences, and perhaps supposed to exert a commanding influence on the surrounding country, are almost exclusively selected for visitation. The result, we well know. An aristocratic mob—an influence pestiferous, deadly and deceptive, on all the region within the central influence. A regular County effort—taking town by town, and school district by school district would do much to remedy this defect, especially if, (as was done in Rhode Island) the farming and manufacturing neighborhoods were first visited, before the larger towns and villages were approached. The towns and cities should be made to feel the healthful influences of the salubrious country ; instead of packing up the smoke and filth of the cities for distribution among the surrounding farmers.

OTHER OPERATIONS OF THIS SOCIETY.—THE PRESS.

The establishment of a weekly newspaper at Utica, devoted to the interests of emancipation has been one of the primary objects toward which the attention of the Executive Committee has been, during the past year, directed. In this enterprise, the members of the Committee, in addition to large drafts on their attention and time, have made heavy disbursements and incurred weighty pecuniary responsibilities. The "Friend of Man" was commenced on the 23d of June last, but previous to that time, the Standard and Democrat, (now merged in the present publication) had been for several months published upon the same responsibility. If the weekly paper now established is to accomplish the objects for which it was designed, it must be more widely circulated and more liberally sustained. Experience has proved, what might have been inferred *a priori*, that periodicals designed to change the public sentiment, can not derive from the spontaneous patronage of newspaper subscribers, their full support. While, therefore, individual subscriptions, to the greatest possible extent, should be given and obtained, the examples of the Temperance press in Albany, and of the Anti-Slavery press in New York should seem to indicate the wants of the Anti-Slavery press in Utica, and the true policy of those who desire a "local habitation" and a central home of abolitionism in the heart of our empire state.

TEACHINGS OF PROVIDENCE.

The events of Divine Providence during the past year, connected with the great ends of our organization as a society, have been truly wonderful and instructive. They have been grand, and varied.—They have been painful, and yet cheering. They have been at once rich with encouragement, and portentous with warning. Development after development has successively broken in upon the stupidity of public apathy. Scene after scene has glided rapidly before us. Flash after flash, and peal after peal, have the lightnings and thunders of eternal truth and justice beamed upon us and rolled over us. If any evidences were wanting that the warnings of *abolitionism* are the *warnings of God himself* in the ears of an oppressive nation, these evidences are supplied in the super-human *emphasis* which has been given to those warnings by *Him* in whose hands are the hearts, and ways, and destinies of men. All the elements of the literary, social, ecclesiastical, political, and religious world are in motion, and they are so moved that they are made to *tell* with mighty effect, at every step, upon the great interests of the oppressed. They are so moved that the most opposite evolutions are made to contribute to the same effect. They are so used as to subsidize, and work up into the one great fabric of *increasing abolitionism* whatever of *raw material* there is moving among us, of whatsoever shape, quality or texture it may be. They are moved, just as any intelligent observer or calculator would suppose they *would* be, if he knew they were moved “according to the good pleasure” of some every-where-present and all-pervading intelligence, who had determined the overthrow of slavery, and was acting with a superintending efficiency in aid of the despised and hated advocates of “modern abolitionism.” Events apparently the most disastrous and untoward, have furnished the most striking illustrations on this point.

GEORGE THOMPSON.

When George Thompson, the Lafayette of our bloodless and lawful revolution, was driven by persecution about a year ago, from our shores, what abolitionist was there who did not feel *that* providence a chastisement, and prostrate himself in the dust with the inquiry—“Lord! why is it thus with us?” The humiliation and the inquiry were appropriate and salutary. But who does not *now* see, that George Thompson has been doing more for us in Europe than he could have done for us in America? The Great Master Builder knew in what part of the rising edifice his services were most needed. False brethren were mining for our overthrow in the affections of our British fellow laborers. False glosses upon American despotism and its apologists, were industriously exported by the interested traffickers in “slaves and souls of men.” George Thompson was needed in England: and yet what could he have done there, without a Breckinridge

to accept his challenge, and to demonstrate by the gigantic but vain efforts of his splendid genius and talents, the righteousness of the cause that, in the eyes of all Europe, so signally *crushed him*? It should be noticed also, that the enemies of George Thompson, by driving him with their assassin dirks from our shores, and sending him home to the fraternal embraces of the Wardlaws, and Heughs, and Munsells of his native country, and to the honors of public meetings, with the Provost of Edinburgh and the High Sheriff of London in the chair, have been made the unwilling instruments of proving to the world their own malice and infamy, in reporting him a vagrant renegado, a fugitive from the public justice of his own country, when he visited our own.

DR. REUBEN CRANDALL.

A citizen of our own empire State, was pining in the dungeons of our own District of Columbia, a year ago, beneath the walls of the very capitol, and it was scarcely through our representatives in Congress during the past winter, that his northern fellow citizens could cautiously, and with much circumspection, adventure to hold correspondence with him, lest a mere knowledge of the *fact* should insure his destruction! During the period of his incarceration, the land rung with the demand—"What have northern citizens to do with the abolition of southern slavery?" Divine Providence was preparing to supply, in the history of the trial that resulted in his acquittal, an answer which must forever settle and silence that inquiry, with every intelligent and free-born American. "Northern citizens *have* to do with southern slavery, because northern citizens, deserving the name, are not safe in their own District of Columbia, so long as southern slavery continues!" "I am a Roman citizen," was once a sufficient pass-word for republicans; but, "I am a citizen of New York," is but a pass-word to the Bastiles of the American capitol, if suspected of friendliness to freedom. Dr. Reuben Crandall, a most estimable citizen of Peekskill, in the county of Westchester, escaped immolation upon the altar of slavery, only because the District Attorney, an officer of the federal government, was *unable to prove* that he had expressed in the hearing of his fellow citizens, the sentiments of John Jay, of Benjamin Franklin, of William Pinckney, and of Thomas Jefferson! Every citizen of this State who will possess himself of the little pamphlet that records the judicial proceedings in this case, will possess documentary and authentic evidence that *no* citizen of this State can *safely* visit the seat of the national government, unless prepared to hail "domestic slavery as the corner stone of our republican edifice." What description of *representatives* shall we be safe in sending there?

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

It seemed a dark hour for our proscribed band of abolitionists, when

the President of the United States descended from the high seat to which many an abolitionist had assisted in elevating him, to repeat in his annual official message, the pitiful accusations of our bar-room opponents, to brand us as incendiaries, plotters of insurrection, as enemies of our federal constitution, and disturbers of our country's quiet; and yet, the accusation furnished opportunity for the Executive Committee of the Parent Society at New York, to exhibit such proofs and challenge such investigations as have silenced at once and forever all similar charges from whatever quarter they may hereafter come.— From even the Hon. John C. Calhoun himself, the concession was extorted, before the close of the congressional session, and he made it in his place in the Senate, that the purposes and operations of the abolitionists were only moral and suasive, *not* violent and insurrectionary.

MR. CALHOUN'S REPORT—THE MAILS.

Nor was it in this view alone, that the President's Message worked for our good. His proposition for punishing the disseminators of abolitionism through the U. S. Mails, drew forth the report of Hon. John C. Calhoun, who clearly saw in the President's proposition, the vesting of a power in Congress, not more dangerous to the abolitionist than to the slaveholder. "If Congress," said he, "may this year decide what incendiary publications *are*, they may next year decide what they are *not*, and thus laden their mails with real though covert abolitionism." This simple thought is the key to his whole report, and abolitionists are indebted to Hon. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, for the *ablest defense* of the position that the federal government *can not* legislate down abolitionism, without destroying the constitution and the republic, that has ever been penned in this country. At the same time, the substitute proposed by him, in lieu of the President's proposition, a substitute embracing the monstrous absurdity that the *North* could be bound by the restrictive legislation of the southern states, when it would be unsafe for them to intrust such a power to their *own representatives*, was a position still more manifestly untenable than that of the President, which he had successfully overthrown. The result we may easily understand. The project of restrictive legislation was abandoned. Not only so. Instead of a law, as proposed by the President, *requiring* a discrimination between the different publications offered to the U. S. Mails, the nation was astonished with an enactment, duly "approved" by the presidential signature, *prohibiting* such a discrimination under severe and degrading penalties! A careful attention to the recommendation of the President appears to have abundantly convinced *all* parties that *no* party was safe, without the sheltering wings of an ægis sufficiently broad to cover, at once, the abolitionist and the slaveholder. In *connection* with the previous pillage of the U. S. Mail at Charleston, the countenance given to the

outrage by the Post Master General, and the unlawful refusal of the Post Master at New-York city to receive and mail abolition publications, the President's Message and the Report of Mr. Calhoun placed both Houses of Congress, and the President himself, in the inextricable dilemma of either prostrating the whole mail establishment, as a medium of trust-worthy communication, or else enacting a law as fully *requiring* the safe transmission of anti-slavery publications as though the Bill had been drafted by the Anti-Slavery Committee themselves ! Among the lessons taught by this providential and wonderful result, we may perhaps arrive at some tolerable data for ascertaining the danger that the South will divide the Union to stop the circulation of the so called " incendiary " publications. The " South " when the crisis arrived, would not even relinquish the benefits of the federal *Mail* to do it, as the silent passage of the post office law abundantly testifies !

MR. PINCKNEY'S REPORT.

Perhaps the Report of Mr. Pinckney in the House of Representatives, when its tendencies shall have become sufficiently developed, will scarcely prove less favorable to the cause of human rights. The historical data adduced to prove that the abolition of slavery in the District would be a breach of the public faith, is already found to be rich with the materials for arriving at a contrary conclusion. The pretense that the *proper uses* of the District by the federal government do not require the abolition of its slave code, is calculated to remind our statesmen of the historical *fact* that the District was once ravaged, and the national archives destroyed, simply because the arms of free-men were occupied in defending their firesides from their slaves.—Nay, more : that the very freedom from *extraneous control*, which the federal legislators *sought* by the acquisition of the District, can never be enjoyed in the presence of *slavery*, since members of Congress are threatened with assassination for questioning its claims. Above all, the claim of Mr. Pinckney, that the slaveholders of the District hold their slave property by a tenure of original and inherent *right*, beyond, and above, and before all acts of human legislative power, are so sustained by the arguments and authorities adduced in his Report, as can not fail to foster the suspicion that *slavery itself can not lawfully exist* by acts of *human legislative power* ! that no human constitution *can* confer the power ! that a righteous judicial decision, *without* any special statute for the purpose, would terminate slavery in the District, as it was terminated in Massachusetts and Great Britain ! Mr. Pinckney may not, indeed, become the Granville Sharpe of the operation, but if abolitionists do not prove dull scholars under his tuition, they need not despair of furnishing one from among their own number.

The Honorable Messrs. Pinckney and Calhoun, it is understood, are at war with each other, for the glory of having originated the wisest counsels against abolitionism. Posterity, perhaps, may deter-

mine, which of them has most effectually contributed to its triumph.—The adoption of the *resolutions* appended to Mr. Pinckney's Report, may seem to furnish an exception to the favorable results of the last winter's congressional discussion. But the effects of these resolutions themselves remain yet to be developed. If the people of the United States do not intend to surrender the *right of petition*, if they are not inclined to constitute Congress a Holy Inquisition to sit in judgment on the creeds of their constituents, if they have not forgotten the importance of separating the judicial from the legislative functions, and do not mean to be held liable to condemnation for crime without the transgression of law, then the time is not distant (if it be not already come,) when those resolutions will re-act against those who framed them, and in favor of those they were designed to intimidate.

SPEECH OF J. Q. ADAMS.

It was a dark hour for the cause of liberty ~~was~~ plead, when freedom of speech was denied in the halls of Congress, and when a representative of Massachusetts, (not long since the Chief Magistrate of our republic,) was forbidden to lisp a syllable in his place, lest by some distant implication he should seem to blaspheme the Great Diana of the South! But it was the darkness that betokened the approach of day-dawn. By what complicated machinery of providential arrangements that illustrious individual was put in possession of the *local facts* he needed at that singular crisis, and just at the moment when they could be made available for the cause of righteousness; *facts* which, in all probability, were not known to half a dozen individuals, until poured like thunder by John Quincy Adams upon the unexpected ears of a startled world; facts which no individual destitute of his extensive and minute political knowledge and intuitive insight, would have been able to connect, arrange, and wield, to any adequate precision and momentum; facts which only could have been gathered by years of attentive observation, in a foreign land which the orator himself had never visited: by what super-human forecast, we say, all these scattered materials were brought to such a focus, at such a crisis, we need not stop to *inquire*; and the Christian abolitionist *need not ask*! Suffice it to say, that at the very moment when the pent-up fires within him could no longer be suppressed, the able statesman and orator was found armed for the mightiest effort of his laborious life. The facts were there—the occasion was presented—the *hour was come*: and at his bidding, the dark, deep, demon-minings of weary and shameful years, were, in one moment, bared to the piercing sunlight, and scattered to the careering winds! If this nation *is* to be saved from a Mexican war—if the Ruler of the Nations designs to preserve us from a contest in which “*no attribute* of his nature could take sides with us,” then will every *circumstance* that contributed to draw out the speech of John Quincy Adams upon the Texian conspiracy, be proved

a merciful arrangement of his providence. Or if, with this timely warning, the nation madly rushes on to her ruin, the justice of her punishment will have been, by the same means, most fully and amply vindicated. And not the less signal should we regard this providential aid to our cause, when we remember that its respected instrument is not numbered among the advocates of our efforts.

ATTEMPTS AT NORTHERN LEGISLATION.

The same general lessons of instruction, of admonition, of warning, and of encouragement, may be learned from the records of those efforts of several of our *state authorities* to suppress free inquiry, to proscribe the doctrine of inalienable rights, and to punish as felons, or abandon as outlaws, the asserters of the truths contained in our national Declaration of Independence, for which the annals of the past year will become memorable in all future time. That such a design should have been seriously entertained in this period of our republic, and in this age of the world, in the face of our national and state constitutions and bills of rights, and by men with the praises of republicanism on their tongues, and the profession of attachment to our constitutions for their watchword, will forever remain among the most paradoxical chapters of human history. But the friends of our society have been compelled to witness them during the past year, and although the sight has been such as to try men's souls, yet the gold of abolitionism has come out with seven fold purity and brightness from the fire.

A year ago, the momentous question was in suspense whether the legislatures of the northern states in obedience to the demands of the South, should proclaim "death without benefit of clergy" *—"the highest civil penalties and ecclesiastical censures" † to the "traitorous radicals" who should adventure to question the "divine right" of a slave-holding aristocracy to compel the unrequited labor of the poor. Already, some of the first "Literary and Theological Reviews" had felt the public pulse, without eliciting any marked symptoms of alarm. Already the leading influences of "the church" to an alarming extent, had sent in an adhesion, in advance, to any usurpations that might be deemed "expedient" by the "state" declaring that "the sword and the keys" ‡ should be inseparable. Already a northern judiciary stood ready (as later developments have disclosed) to visit with fines and imprisonment the *free laboring white citizens of New York*, who should have the audacity to fix the price of their own labor, while the aristocracy were combining under the sanctions and facilities of law, to grind the faces of the poor. On the whole, the project of Gov.

* Message of Gov. M'Duffie.

† Vide Literary and Theological Review : N. Y., Dec. 1835

‡ Ibid.

M'Duffie for extending "*the corner stone of our republican edifice*,"¹⁹ to the North as well as the South, was in the full tide of successful experiment, and his prediction of completing the revolution within twenty-five years, was in the apparent process of a much earlier fulfillment.

ABORTIVE ATTEMPTS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Dark indeed, for the interests of the cause we plead, were the prospects held out by these alarming indications, less than one year ago. Peculiarly ominous did it appear, when the very spot upon which the fires of American liberty were first kindled was selected as the site of their extinguishment—when after the public proclamation of southern lynch law as the paramount code of Boston, and after the cradle of liberty, Faneuil Hall, had become the nursing chamber of Slavery, a governor of Massachusetts ventured to suggest in his official Message, that a republication of the doctrines of '76 by the freemen of that Commonwealth, was an offense "indictable at common law"—when a legislative committee of known accordance with these views was appointed to consider and report upon the southern demands, and when one of the first civilians of Massachusetts,* whose "Political Class Book" had been for several years current in the public schools, (and which was now discovered to have been covertly insinuating the same slavish doctrine into the minds of our youth,) came out now boldly, with the unblushing demand, and a very popular one with the leading men in political and ecclesiastical power, "that the village and country inhabitants" being no longer held in check by the "public sentiment" of their betters "in Boston," should be prohibited by adequate pains and penalties, from assembling with their wives and children, to hear the "exciting appeals" of the lecturers on slavery and human rights!

The darkness of that hour was rendered still more dense, when a few of the citizens of that Commonwealth whose dearest rights were at stake, and whose advocacy of human liberty was apparently on the verge of being proscribed as a felony, were denied by the Legislative Committee, as a matter of right, the full and fair hearing which is claimed and enjoyed by every citizen of that Commonwealth who chooses to plead that his pecuniary interests, to the value of a dollar, are jeopardized by the granting of a proposed act of incorporation to a turnpike company! And yet the very blackness of this darkness was selected by the good providence of God as the central focus of a sudden and bright light. The refusal of the Committee to hear the full defense of the abolitionists, produced an appeal to the Legislature. By the preponderancy of the agricultural and artisan members, this appeal was not without its effect. The Committee were directed to al-

* Hon. William Sullivan.

low a full defense. The interest excited by these circumstances drew forth a full public audience in the Representatives' Hall, including a majority of the Legislature itself, at the next interview of the abolitionists with the Legislative Committee. Then it was, in full view of their fellow citizens, that the legislative pro-slavery Committee were left to the infatuation of acting out *themselves*, and their *southern confederates*, to the life. In the face of the legislative order to allow a full hearing to the abolitionists, they were silenced and put down with insult, in the midst of their plea, without the least shadow of a reason! The Chairman of the Committee, with the communications from South Carolina and Alabama lying on the table, before him, (the very fetters forged by the hands of southern slave-drivers for the ankles of northern freemen,) was seen reaching forth his lily fingers to put them on! The sturdy yeomanry of N. England saw it, with their own eyes. Had Gov. Gayle or Gov. M'Duffie, been in the place of the Hon. Geo. Lunt, the effect could not have been more powerful. It was like an electric shock. The sons of the Puritans could not sit quiet and unmoved on their seats. One after another, not abolitionists, rose spontaneously, and addressed, most eloquently, the Committee. The assembled legislators caught the infection. From that time forward, the cause of free discussion lacked no advocacy in either House of the Legislature. A full statement of the plea offered in part by the abolitionists was printed, and placed in the hands of every member. One press after another, spoke out in favor of freedom. Citizens of Boston, not identified with anti-slavery movements, presented memorials, inviting legislative attention to unconstitutional aggressions of the South upon the "guarantied rights" of the North, aggressions of long standing, notorious, yet hitherto, unnoticed. The tide of oppression was checked. The pro-slavery Committee in an elaborate report, recorded their own good wishes for the overthrow of liberty, without daring to recommend, either an enactment or a resolution corresponding with their own feelings! The Report itself was buried in the grave of indefinite postponement, and the framers returned to their constituents to meet from almost every countenance the withering rebuke they merited. The cause of freedom received a new impulse, and by the late decision of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, a master bringing a servant into that State must bring him there a freeman.

ABORTIVE ATTEMPTS IN RHODE ISLAND.

Scarcely less signal and auspicious has been the winding-up scene in the pro-slavery drama enacted during the past year, in the Legislature of Rhode Island. Newport, the former seat of the African slave trade, (now branded as piracy,) having become the favorite summer boarding house of the southern slave master, a pro-slavery town meeting of Newport, procured by Benjamin Hazard, a representative in the state Legislature, and distinguished for his opposition to the Tem-

perance cause, had adopted a series of resolutions to be laid before the Legislature of Rhode Island. They were presented by Mr. Hazard, last October during the preparation for the Rhode-Island Anti-Slavery Convention. The business was referred to a committee, of which the gentleman from Newport was chairman. The report of this Committee was made at the February session in Providence, just after the rising of the Anti-Slavery Convention held in the same city. It closed with resolutions, implicating the abolitionists, by cautious innuendo, as promoters of sedition and insurrection, and recommending the passage of a law which was likewise reported, providing for penal inflictions upon the authors of seditious and insurrectionary publications!

All this, in *Rhode Island*—the soil of Roger Williams—the land of religious freedom—the state that so long hesitated to ratify the federal constitution, lest it should infringe the freedom of speech and of the press—that finally appended to its ratification the explicit proviso that these were not surrendered, recommending at the same time an *amendment* of the constitution, requiring Congress without a delay of 20 years to abolish the foreign slave trade, which was deprecated as “*tending to continue the slavery of the human species*,” a practice “disgraceful to the cause of liberty and humanity”!

That *Rhode Island* should have been the first—the *only* state in the Union, whose annals should have been stained with the records of a reported and proposed legislative enactment for annulling freedom of speech and of the press on the subject of slavery, was certainly among the most wonderful and startling of the “signs of the times.” If it did not create unprecedented alarm among the friends of freedom in that State, it was only because their already unprecedented anti-slavery efforts had placed them on a vantage ground proportioned to the existing exigency. As it was, their efforts were prompt and energetic to avert the calamity that threatened them, and the holy cause of human freedom. The Committee had reported the last evening of the session, with the evident view of having the Bill passed in the hurry of the moment, without deliberation or debate. One or two members, (who were afterwards called to encounter the displeasure of the aristocracy for their temerity) adventured to demur, and the subject was postponed till the next session. No time was lost by abolitionists in circulating remonstrances, and petitions, praying to be heard in self-defense. The prayer of the petitions was granted and a new committee appointed, at the next session to hear them. A public notice by the Chairman of this Committee, designated a day to give the abolitionists a hearing, and invited their attendance at the State House in Newport. The time arrived, and the abolitionists were on the spot, prepared with their Counsel, and ready for a defense. But a majority of the Legislative Committee, well knowing, by the previous result at Boston, that a public defense would insure the defeat of the Bill, declined giving them a

hearing, and reported to the Legislature a proposition to defer the business to the next session, allowing the abolitionists only the presentation of a written defense! This extraordinary proposal was contested in the Legislature, and subsequently the original resolutions and Bill were withdrawn by Mr. Hazard, the Chairman of the Committee that originally reported them.

The abolitionists deemed themselves aggrieved in not being allowed an opportunity to make their defense, after having been accused as traitors against their country. They therefore petitioned for the use of the State House (which had been used for the Newport pro-slavery meeting) and were denied by a majority of eight votes. The disposition of the Legislature to take away the rights of the people, became therefore, providentially, a matter of public record, while, by the same good Providence, the unhallowed design was defeated—defeated too, under circumstances which *demonstrated to the world, that Rhode Island remained a free state*, untrammelled by the gag laws of the South, only because her aristocratic demagogues *dared* not enslave her—that they dared not, only because their machinations had been exposed by the anti-slavery lecturer and the anti-slavery press—that they dared not, because, between the two rival parties, abolitionists were known to hold the balance of political power, and while they would favor no partisan schemes, they would support no enemies of free inquiry and human rights. No fact upon the page of history stands more irrefragably attested than this—that *the energy of anti-slavery efforts has saved the liberties of Rhode Island.*

ATTEMPTS IN NEW YORK.

And how stands the case, with the “empire state” of New York? Has the proud title of “*empire*” reconciled her to the thought of ceasing to remain a *republic*? Has the “empire” submitted to an “*emperor*”? “A nation,” says the renowned Montesquieu, “may lose its liberties in a day, and not miss them for a century.”

In the whole history of official denunciation of abolitionists by the chief magistrates and legislators of these American republics, there is perhaps no instance to be found in which the aspersions are more unfounded, abusive and reckless than those contained in the message of His Excellency Gov. Marcy of New York. And no one, perhaps, has more fully and plainly asserted the right of the state legislatures to punish as a capital offense the promulgation of the doctrines of Jefferson, of Franklin, and of Jay, respecting inalienable human rights, and concerning the outrage upon these rights committed by the slave system. “*Without the power to pass such laws*” says Gov. Marcy, in his last annual message, “the states would not possess all the necessary means for preserving their external relations of peace among themselves.” The only reason he assigns for not recommending the immediate enactment of such laws, is because the “fanatics” and “in-

endiaries" who have audaciously attempted to promulgate the "self-evident" doctrines of equal rights, are so few and contemptible, and are diminishing so rapidly that they will probably become extinct without giving the state government the trouble of suppressing them! According to his late message, His Excellency the Governor, should find the abolitionists on the increase, and continuing and enlarging their operations for diffusing their sentiments, will feel himself obliged by every sentiment of regard to the internal peace of the states to recommend the enactment of such laws as shall effectually silence and suppress them.

In the expression of these views, His Excellency is fully sustained by the Honorable, the Senate and House of Assembly of New York, who have cordially and explicitly re-echoed and indorsed the sentiments of his message. The friends of liberty, of free discussion and of a free press, in the state of New York, are therefore called upon to look the crisis in the face and prepare to meet it as they may. Is it thought that the passage of those apparently imbecile and pointless resolutions, unarmed by the sanctions of law, constitute a mere blank in our moral and political history? Listen to the maxim of Vattel:—"It is against silent and slow attacks, that the nation should be particularly on its guard."

Better were it for the rights of abolitionists, and the prospects of continued freedom, and the reign of law and order in our *own* State, that the Bill reported by Benjamin Hazard for Rhode Island, had become, last winter, incorporated among the Statutes of New York, rather than that our legislature had so far overstepped the boundaries prescribed for them by the constitution as to forget that they were appointed, not to denounce *men's persons*, but to enact specific *laws* for their government; not to usurp a judicial power that was never committed to them; not to destroy the checks of the constitution by blending the legislative and judicial departments of government; not to attain the unjust and oppressive ends of an *ex post facto* law by denouncing actions condemned by no authorized code, without giving us the opportunity of escaping its effect, by pleading its unconstitutionality, by procuring its regular repeal, or at the least, enjoying the benefits of a trial, previous to the infliction of the severest of *all* penalties, the loss of character—and handing us over to the most inhuman of all executors, the ignorant, the ferocious, the Bacchanalian mob.

Thus reasoned the friends of liberty in Massachusetts. They distinctly deprecated *legislative censures* as a greater usurpation and a more dreaded injury than the severest penal enactments. "Let us," said they, "be arraigned, if needs be, as culprits" for teaching the doctrine that all men are created equal; "let us be arraigned under the most rigorous espionage of our words and writings that ever characterized the legislation of a Nicholas or of a Spanish Inquisition, but give us, at least, the opportunity of pleading and proving the facts of

the case in our defense, (if indeed we may not be deemed innocent till our guilt shall be proved,) *rather* than be committed to the tender mercies of five thousand executioners of an extra judicial sentence ; " above all, " let not the Legislature at *one* session denounce, unheard and untried, a specific class of their constituents as circulators of ' incendiary and seditious publications,' in order to forestall their condemnation under the statute of a *future* legislature against ' incendiary and seditious publications.' "

Thus reasoned the abolitionists, last winter, on Beacon Hill. The logic, in Massachusetts is generally accounted sound ; and at *this* moment, the laws of Turkey, of Austria, of the See of Rome, or even of Louisiana, in relation to the press, would with less scruple and less public alarm be proclaimed in the State House at Boston, than the legislative resolutions adopted by the Assembly of our own state of New York !

THE CRISIS IN THIS STATE.

The storm, then, that has passed over the Narragansett and the Wachusett, is still lowering over the valley of the Mohawk and the western lakes. The work that has been done up by our brethren in Rhode Island and Massachusetts, remains still on our hands ; *the work of shielding the free white citizens of our own state from the manacles of the southern task master !* In this work, we have only the companionship of our friends in *Maine*, who, *alone*, (of all the people of the northern states,) share with us in the perils and degradations of our condition. If not wanting to ourselves, to our high professions, and to the sacred cause we have espoused, we shall see well to it that *this* subject does not rest until the fetters forged for our own limbs, are beaten into weapons of deliverance for the slave ! We shall see well to it, that at least, the *state of New York becomes a free state*, before we take the advice of our enemies and "*go to the South.*" We shall see well to it, that the slave code of "the South" does not come to *us !* We shall see well to it that the free citizens of New York, whatever may be their hue, are not *carried* "to the South" without their consent ! We shall see well to it that the writs of *habeas corpus* and *homo replegiando*, designed to *protect* our citizens from false arrest, are no longer made the instrument of their *felonious abduction*. We shall take care that the Chief Magistracy of our own commercial emporium does not become the regular and systematic engine and implement of a series of abductions as nefarious as that of Morgan, that the chief mart of our staple productions does not become the mart of the agriculturists who rear them ! And that the *owners* of sheep and swine, from whom a single horn or hoof can not be taken without a jury trial, are not *themselves* liable at any moment of the day or night, to be claimed as "goods and chattels personal," and the claim allowed by a petty justice, and the husband and father severed from his wife and

children, in three brief hours, *without* the privilege of a trial by jury ! Our fellow citizens who have not yet caught the " fanaticism " of believing that " God has made of one blood all nations," may nevertheless feel some interest in the question of freedom or slavery in the state of New York, when they learn that *color* is no longer the criterion of freedom, and when they are certified that children of free white parents, without a single drop of African blood in their veins, have been seized in a non-slave-holding state and adjudged into southern slavery in the manner we have described !

The friends of God and man can have no good reason to repine that the dark cloud still resting over our own State, in connection with the occurrences of the past year, is, at length, forcing upon the attention of our citizens the very topics which it behooves them seriously to regard. If the state of New York ever comes up to the help of the Lord against the mighty oppressors of our race, we doubt not that the attacks of her own statesmen upon her liberties during the past year, will have been found among the effectual instruments of so salutary a change.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CHURCH.

But there has been nothing in the *political* aspects and movements of the past year so deeply appalling and affecting, and yet so richly laden with glorious promise, as the astounding disclosures of the same period in respect to the moral state and leading influences of the Christian church. Whatever corrupt politicians might do, had we not a right to expect a different course of policy in the leaders of the *church* ? At least in the church and its leaders at the *North* ? The world had indeed been called to witness " the clergy of all denominations attending in a body " at a pro-slavery meeting in Charleston, (S. C.) where lynch law was proclaimed without a blush, " lending their sanction to the proceedings, and adding by their presence to the impressive character of the scene." Similar exhibitions at various points of the South had been made, previous to the annals of the past year, sufficient to correct the former impression and unmask the previous pretense that ministers and Christians at the South were desirous of terminating, at *some* period not far distant, the existence of domestic slavery in their midst. But was it not the general impression a year ago, that the leading ecclesiastical influences at the *North* ; that the great body of official dignitaries in the churches among *ourselves* were *not prepared to sanction* with their silence *such violent exhibitions of pro-slavery sentiment* in their southern brethren ? Still less to lend them the aid of their direct *countenance* and *assistance* ? Would it not have been thought an ungenerous suspicion, a slanderous aspersion a year ago, if any abolitionist had intimated the possibility that the influential and learned men, the controlling managers, and directing servants and rulers of the prominent Christian sects at the North, would have left un-

improved the first favorable opportunity for remonstrating, under such circumstances, with their southern friends? Would it not have been held a still more censurable and unchristian jealousy, if any one had predicted that the highest pro-slavery demands of slave-holding ministers and churches at the South, would have been fully backed up by their clerical and Christian brethren at the North? Undoubtedly it would. But what are the facts presented by the records of the past year?

THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE—THE RELIGIOUS PRESS.

The Literary and Theological Review has already been quoted as teaching that the "radicals" [and under this term it had explicitly included abolitionists,] were "*justly liable to the highest civil penalties and ecclesiastical censures.*" This almost servile repetition of Gov. M'Duffie's denunciation of "death without benefit of clergy," to every abolitionist, was published nearly a year ago. It was made the subject of comment at the time, but never from that hour to the present, has there appeared, to our knowledge, a single word of explanation, disclaimer, regret, defense or apology from the publisher, the writer, or either of the patrons of that publication, which records on the list of its contributors and patrons, a large number of the leading and influential Presbyterian and Congregational divines in the Middle States, and in New England.

Without building too much on this isolated circumstance, let it be asked what other developments of the past year have served to throw further light on such a singular phenomenon? What religious periodical, not conducted by an abolitionist, let it be asked, has uttered a word of rebuke to the Literary and Theological Review? Which one among them all, has lisped a syllable of dissent? What data then, do we find, for inferring a shade of difference in sentiment between the leading ecclesiastical influences of the North, and the "clergy of all denominations who lent their sanction" to the "impressive" exhibition at the South?

PRESBYTERIAN GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian church convened at Pittsburgh in May. Previous to its sitting, the demand of the South was distinctly heard that, on "the delicate question" it should be silent. And was it *not* silent? What *more* was demanded by the "clergy of all denominations" at Charleston, than that the voice of Christian abolitionists *should be stifled*? What *less* was done by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church than *to stifle* the remonstrances of Christian abolitionists? Wherein did the response of their conduct fall short of a compliance with the demand?

METHODIST GENERAL CONFERENCE.

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, as-

sembled at Cincinnati about the same time. And not only was the voice of Christian remonstrance against slavery *stifled*; but the opponents of slavery were subjected to a direct and heavy censure.

In both these cases, the voice of these ecclesiastical bodies was the undivided voice of the North and of the South, except so far as dissent was uttered by that portion of the church and ministry leavened with the heresy of "modern abolitionism."

OTHER ECCLESIASTICAL AND CLERICAL BODIES.

We might mention, to the same purport, the proceedings of the Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia, and of the Methodist Episcopal Conference in New York. The former repeating the common charges against the defenders of the poor; and the latter withholding ministerial licenses from all who would not promise to abstain from pleading the cause of the needy. We can not forbear to mention, especially, the resolutions of the General Associations of Congregational ministers in Connecticut and Massachusetts, in which, the zeal to subserve the "peculiar interests of the South" was so conspicuous as to induce the assumption of ecclesiastical powers, never committed to those bodies, and never before attempted to be exercised over Congregational churches in New England, or any protestant denomination in America! In these resolutions the *ministers* claimed the power of saying "what the churches might do and what they might not do"—what preachers or lecturers they might hear, and what they might not hear. The passage of these resolutions in Connecticut, was rendered the more remarkable by the fact that when objected against, on the ground that they would tend to encourage mobs against anti-slavery lecturers, the fact was neither denied nor deprecated by any one favorable to their adoption, but the reverend mover, on the contrary, very coldly and tauntingly retorted to his clerical brother, (an abolitionist, who had suggested the objection, and who was almost daily exposed to mobs,) that "abolitionists should never be troubled about the consequences"! And this too, from a minister who had claimed to be "as much opposed to slavery as any one"! A minister so often abounding with professions of almost assent to the doctrines of abolitionism as almost to persuade abolitionists themselves, at times, of his friendliness and sincerity!

Such are some of the astonishing and painful disclosures of the past year, in respect to the connection of our leading ecclesiastical influences at the North, with the Slavery of the South.

IMPORTANCE OF THESE DISCLOSURES.

Truly lamentable and alarming as is the state of things in the church, as disclosed by these events of the past year, yet a *knowledge* of this condition, since it does exist, was of the utmost importance to the friends of true religion and human freedom throughout the world.

In no one department of his wonderful Providence, has the GREAT REFUGE OF THE OPPRESSED appeared more excellent in counsel and mighty in working, than in the suddenness and completeness with which he has stripped off false disguises, and made manifest those hollow pretenses by which even his own people have been hushed into slumber and apathy, in times past. It was only one year ago that the abundant *profession* of real opposition to southern slavery, on the part of the leading ecclesiastical influences at the North, was regarded by the bulk of an honest and confiding community of plain and simple-hearted yeomanry and mechanics, as having a creditable foundation in fact, in deed and in truth. That illusion has now passed away, and it can never return. It has not been by the "uncharitable and censorious" accusations of abolitionists that the impression has been produced. It has been by *the testimony of their own acts*.— Their course is as well understood now, as that of "their brethren of the South."

MOB AT CINCINNATI.

Accordingly, it is now found to excite little or no surprise, that of the Cincinnati Mobocratic Committee of thirteen, "eight are members of different churches of that city, and two of them ministers of the gospel."* The developments of the past year have fully prepared the public mind to expect continued and similar disclosures. And the time is not distant, if it be not already come, when at the North as well as at the South, there will be but two sides to the question, and no man will gain credit for a dissent from the doctrines of M'Duffie, who does not openly and boldly take his stand with the despised and proscribed abolitionists.

The results of the last great outrage at Cincinnati, are not, as yet, perhaps, sufficiently ascertained, to warrant our tracing them with precision: nor is it known with certainty, whether those outrages have yet terminated. We can, however, see enough to furnish us with lessons of instruction, of admonition, and of hope.

ITS MORAL CAUSES AND CONNECTIONS.

In many respects, the late catastrophe at Cincinnati, may be considered as the natural, and almost inevitable result of the movements already noticed. From the violent proceedings in Utica, a year ago, to the scenes of the last few weeks in Cincinnati, there has been an unbroken chain of moral causes and effects. The instigators of the riots in Utica a year ago, were known to have been in constant correspondence with members of Congress at the South. The agitations in Congress, last winter, were produced, and kept alive by the

* *Vide* statement of James G. Birney, in his Cincinnati Philanthropist of September 27th, 1836.

same class of men. The failure of legislative action in Congress was avenged by the adoption of Mr. Pinckney's Report. By its adoption, the House of Representatives fully approved and indorsed the mobocratic pro-slavery proceedings at Utica, at New York, at Boston and elsewhere. They "rejoiced that the great body of the people of the non-slave-holding states," [as they falsely styled the aristocratic opposers of human rights,] "have come forward, as *they have done*, in the true spirit of American patriotism, to sustain their constitutional obligations to their southern brethren, and arrest the disturbance of the public peace!"* In other words, they "rejoiced" in the apparently successful efforts of a lawless aristocracy to establish the lynch code of the South, over the heads of northern freemen! They rejoiced at the prevalence of efforts which the Market House Committee of Cincinnati have had the honesty to confess, were revolutionary and insurrectionary—in violation of the constitution—and in defiance of the sovereignty of the people! Strange, indeed, would it be, if scenes of lawless violence should not be witnessed among a people whose legislators had eulogized them as evincing the "true spirit of patriotism!"

But other causes have had their share in producing and encouraging the late riots in Ohio. If there were those who could read the gag-law of Lane Seminary, without looking forward to the riots of Cincinnati, there will be few who can read the accounts of those riots, without sending their minds back to the proscriptive edicts of the Seminary. If professors of theological science could not tolerate the reprovers of sin, lest their presence should subtract from the southern patronage of their Seminary, what reason was there to expect that the idolators of wealth would long tolerate similar reproofs, when it endangered their southern custom and their worldly gain? And if the Methodist General Conference at Cincinnati could pass heavy censures against abolitionists; and allow, without reproof, its clerical members to "wish their abolition brethren in heaven" (!) what marvel, that a minister of the same church, in the same city, should be found at the head of a mob for destroying an anti-slavery press?

THE DENCEMENT OF THE DRAMA.

There is something in the riot at Cincinnati that seems to wind up at least *one* long act of the drama of pro-slavery effort, in such a manner as to identify and connect the different actors of the three past years into one scene! The politician, the divine, the slaveholder, the dough-face, the merchant, the demagogue, the mayor, the black-guard, the plotter, the *operative*—these, at other riots, have played their *separate* parts, and often at such a cautious distance from each other, as to make it difficult to connect them in the infamy. But at Cincinnati, they all melted into one common mass of worthy amalgamation.

* Vide Pinckney's Report.

It stands a connecting link between the horrid lynch-law scenes of the South, and the genteel, smooth, decent and plausible anti-abolition assemblages of the North. The meetings of reverend Doctors and honorable Judges and pious Senators in New-York city, in 1832 and '4, did not condescend to mingle personally and openly in the rabble that bid a price for the head of one abolitionist, and burned the furniture of another in the streets. The statesmen and divines of Massachusetts who fanned the flame of popular violence in Boston, did not stay to trample down the anti-slavery sign-board, with their own feet, or fix the halter round the body of their victim. At Cincinnati, all this fastidious decorum was laid aside. Yet, editors in New York, and Albany, have copied the most virulent ebullitions of the Cincinnati press, without the least disapprobation. Not only so, the general apathy and almost silence of the northern *religious* press in general, (not under the direct influences of abolitionism,) in relation to the riot at Cincinnati, and the persecution of Dr. Nelson, has been such as to leave no reasonable doubt on which side the sympathies of their controlling influences have been enlisted.

A PHENOMENON.

In the persecution of Mr. Birney, the world is likewise presented with the phenomenon of an excitement against a citizen of the *South* who had emancipated his slaves, on the part of the citizens of a *non-slave-holding* state, who have been claimed to be heartily opposed to the slave system! The acknowledged mildness, courtesy and decorum of the victim selected for this signal exhibition of anti-abolition fury and rage, is a circumstance that must forever put to shame the pretension that abolitionists are opposed, only on account of the unchristian temper they have indulged, the abusive epithets they have used, and the wrong manner in which they have approached their opponents.

OTHER ADVANTAGES.

Among the advantages secured to the cause of freedom by the madness of pro-slavery violence in Cincinnati, it will be safe to reckon the position into which the people of Ohio are thrown in relation to the press of Mr. Birney. If Ohio is to remain a free state, if her constitution is to go for any thing except mere waste paper, if liberty of the press and freedom of speech, are to be counted among the rights of her citizens, then the press of Mr. Birney must be sustained. It can not ultimately fall without dragging down the State of Ohio, as a *free* state, in its train. It is known too, that a re-action has already been produced; that a new impulse has been given to anti-slavery discussion; that many of the publications scattered by the mob, were scattered to be perused, and have already taken root and borne fruit to perfection.

JUDGE LAWLESS—HIS TUTORs AND HIS OPPONENTS.

The St. Louis Observer, within a few weeks past has been driven from a slave to a free state for the crime of dissenting from the doctrine of Judge Lawless, in his charge to the Grand Jury—a doctrine which sanctions crime, whenever committed by a mob of “gentlemen of property and standing.” It is remarkable that this doctrine of a slave-holding judge, is only an abstract theory, derived, evidently, from the recent practical exhibitions of municipal policy in the once orderly and law-abiding city of Boston! Not less instructive is the fact, that while the public presses in Boston, (with one or two honorable exceptions,) were found ready to commend the practical operation of the doctrine of Judge Lawless in their own city of the Pilgrims, there was found an editor, even in a slave state, who would sooner encounter the horrors of lynch law, than let the mere abstract assertion of the doctrine pass unrebuked! Verily, the last have been found first, and the first last; and while the false prophets of despotism at the North have been predicting unanimous and undivided hostility to to liberty among their dear “brethren of the South”—the Lord is apparently reserving to himself his thousands, even where Satan’s seat is, who will not bow the knee to the image of Baal!

A HINT TO PRINTERS AND EDITORS.

It will be strange indeed if the lynching of two American presses within a few months past, does not teach the conductors of the press, generally, that the safety and independence of the press, every where, can not consist with the existence of slavery, and can not be maintained without the consistent and constant advocacy of inalienable human rights.

THE AGE OF PERSECUTION RETURNING.

The persecution of Dr. David Nelson, and his flight from Missouri to a free state, would of itself, be sufficient to render the annals of the past year memorable, in all coming time. The story of cruel and wicked persecutions in past ages has been read by the Christians of our own day with a wonder almost bordering on incredulity and doubt. That *we*, who live in the “*nineteenth century*” of the Christian era, and in the land, boasting above all others, the name of a free Christian republic, should ever be called to witness a repetition of such dreadful scenes, would have been thought, of all predictions, the most incredible, a few years ago. We have been taught by the events of the past year, that Christians of the nineteenth century in America, have not been sooner called to suffer persecution, merely because their want of Christian faithfulness had not suffered them to deserve the honor, or present the occasion! The unity of feeling and sentiment between the leading influences of the churches at the North and at the South,

has been rendered signally manifest in the case of Dr. Nelson. When that eminent servant of Jesus Christ desired, a little more than a year ago, an opportunity to deliver an important message of divine truth in Boston, not a pulpit in that proud metropolis was opened at his approach! And when he was afterwards called to wander homeless, destitute, afflicted, tormented, at the South, not a note of Christian sympathy and friendship from the Christian ministry of the North (except from those lying under the same ban of proscription with himself) has been heard breathing upon the passing breeze.

But the time would fail us to recount all the wonderful providences of the past year connected with the objects we are pursuing. We must hastily mention a few more, and draw to a close.

ARKANSAS AND MICHIGAN—BLIND COMPROMISE.

Another *slave* State, during the past year, has been added to our National Union. A *free* State, by way of counterpoise and compromise was said to have been put into the opposite scale, but this was done upon *conditions* which the citizens of the proposed free State have thought proper to reject. The promised counterpoise, therefore, has proved a delusion. *Arkansas*, unfettered with any conditions, has received the fraternal hand, and sits down at our council fires. *Michigan* remains still in the antechamber, and we shall listen to her knocking, when she consents that we shall apply the shears to her locks. Liberty never struck a compromise with slavery, without becoming a loser by the bargain. Such losses may be transmuted into gain, when they teach us lessons of true wisdom.

GENERAL PROGRESS OF ABOLITIONISM.

The general progress of our cause throughout the country, during the past year, has been onward. We shall not now attempt to trace it in detail. Those who would witness it, must read the passing history, in our weekly journals. The spirited annual meeting of the parent Society at New York in May—the equally interesting N. E. Anti-Slavery Convention at Boston that soon followed—the cheering anniversary of the N. H. State Society at Concord, in June—the numerous celebrations of anti-slavery societies on the 4th of July and 1st of August—the weekly accounts of new societies formed—the present movement for a state society in Pennsylvania—a call for a convention to form a State, or Territorial, society, in Michigan—the preparation for the first annual meeting of the State Society in Rhode Island—the special meeting of the Vermont State Society, the very day on which our own annual meeting is assembled:—these, with many other passing movements that might be mentioned, are cheering indications that abolitionism is neither dead nor slumbering. The scale of pecuniary expenditure in the cause is rising, with its increasing wants and exigencies. Our friends at the East, are giving by

hundreds, where they had been accustomed to give by *tens*. We, in this State, must emulate their example. We should do more. For we are later in the work, and hitherto, our contributions have been on a much less liberal scale than theirs.

EUROPE.

Abroad as well as at home, the interests of human nature, and the standard of pure Christianity are, together, rising. British abolitionists are extending to us cordially the fraternal hand. Illustrious philanthropists in France are beginning to do the same. Public sentiment in Glasgow, at Edinburgh, at Birmingham and in London, is coming up to the summit level of Christian duty. The attempts to mislead British Christians begin to re-act with great energy. The stand of the English Baptists approaches the purity of the apostolic times, and indicate the course that American as well as European Christians must follow—faithful testimony—solemn admonition, and final separation from the “Man of Sin.”

THE WEST INDIES.

The West India experiment is all that we could expect; its testimony is even more emphatic than could have been hoped. It stands a living commentary upon our doctrines—our measures, and our plans. Every day adds to its weight and to its clearness. It refutes every cavil, and answers every objection. The vexations and abuses under the apprenticeship system in Jamaica contrast admirably with the perfect contentment and prosperity resulting from the instant and unconditional emancipation of Antigua. It annihilates all honest and rational adherence to any, to even the most refined and cautious system of amelioration—of preparation—of gradualism—as a measure of prudence, convenience, advantage, or policy,—in preference to the full and unconditional, and instant emancipation we propose. Never has there been a more striking providential illustration of the great truth that the most full and immediate righteousness, most fully and instantly exalteth a nation. And the experiment under its varying circumstances throughout the Islands has been more than sufficient to silence forever, with all reasonable men, the strange prediction of murder, devastation and want, as the result of justice, mercy, and the cheerful labor of the free.

CONCLUSION.—SLAVERY STILL EXISTS.

In conclusion, we are compelled to recognize the sad, the disgraceful, the heart-rending fact that two and a half millions of native Americans are still pining in bondage—held as mere goods and chattels—denied the protection of law—plundered of their lawful earnings—herded together like the beasts that perish—denied the sanctities of marriage—forbidden the conjugal, the filial, the parental relations—

prohibited from opening the scriptures which are able to make them wise unto salvation. For although our labors, directed chiefly to a future and general result—have not been left wholly without the witness of present and delicious fruit—although the conversions at the South, to our doctrines, are believed to have produced the manumission, *already*, of more slaves than could have been *purchased*, at market price, by the entire amount of our expenditures, yet the annual increase of bondmen exceeds immeasurably the ratio of manumission.

OUR WARFARE—ITS EXTENT AND ITS UNITY.

It has been remarked that the *emancipation of the enslaved*—which constituted, in the beginning, the sole object of anti-slavery effort, has, in the process of the contest, become only an *incident* in the struggle, which is now found to involve alike the freedom of the white and colored laboring population of the country; of the North as well as of the South.

The remark, without question, is correct. Yet let it not be said that we have changed our ground—that we have swerved from our *one single object*—that we are *forgetting* the emancipation of the enslaved, to mingle in political and ecclesiastical strife. It is not so. Our warfare from the *first* has been against SLAVERY; the slavery of *human beings*. And it is against this same slavery, *still*. From the *first*, we declared ourselves pledged for the liberties of *all men*, *without respect to color*. We declare ourselves *thus* pledged *still*! If our opponents, duped by their own slanders, believe us so “recklessly” bent upon the liberation of two and a half millions of our *colored* brethren, as to place no value upon the liberties of twelve millions of our *white* brethren, including ourselves, and our children, the error was their own and not ours. If they believed we should silently see a nation of freemen enslaved, in order to show our regard for the slaves, whom a nation of freemen alone can make free, they only fell into the error of measuring our policy by their own. It is *their* policy and not ours, which requires silence and inaction, when the liberties of a free people are in peril. To the true friend of the colored man, the cause of Anti-Slavery becomes not the less dear, because he finds it identified with his own freedom, with the freedom of *his* children, of his country and of his race. Abolitionists began their work upon *principle*, and in their progress they will include nothing *less* than is included in their principles.

ITS PRINCIPAL FIELD.

But although it is for great and universal principles, rather than for specific and local results that we contend, and although, like the builders of Nehemiah, we have been called to wield the trowel with one hand, and grasp the weapon of defense with the other, yet doubtless the best defense we can make for our own liberties—not neglecting

the use of collateral aid—is to plead for the liberties of our brother—our enslaved brother—our colored brother—our degraded, and down-trodden and slandered brother! This it is, that places our principles in bold relief, and draws out their most searching and ultra tendencies. This it is that purifies our love of liberty from the dross of selfishness and commends it to every man's conscience in the sight of God. This it is that takes hold of the heart of God—of the law of God—of the promise—of the wisdom—of the truth—of the omnipotence of God. Never are the liberties of individuals or of communities so secure as when they plead for the liberties of the oppressed—never are they exalted so highly as when they stoop down the most humbly to identify themselves with the most degraded victims of oppression and pride, remembering them that are in bonds as bound with them; enduring the cross and despising the shame, for the glorious hope set before them!

OUR LEADER—OUR DUTY—AND SURE TRIUMPH.

And well, indeed, may they do this, when they lift up their eyes, and behold the councils and the hand of God, as they have been displayed in the wonderful movements and astonishing developments of the past year! What arm, but that of a God could have wrought for abolitionists, the glorious deliverances of the past year? What better commentary can we need, upon the declarations, the precepts, the threatenings, the promises and the predictions of the Scriptures, concerning the sin of oppression, and the duty of pleading for the oppressed, than are found in the providential dispensations of the past year? If any doubts could have existed in our minds, a year ago, whether the instructions and promises of the Scriptures on this subject, were indeed from the Maker and Governor of men, would they not all be dispelled, as the mist before the sun, in the bright light shed around us by the events of the past year? If then, God be for us, who can be against us? If he works with us, who shall work our overthrow? If He beckons us onward, who shall bid us retreat or stand idle?—If the events of every week mark out the foot prints of His victorious march, shall we be fearful to follow? Like a pillar of a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night, are the precepts and the providences of God, to all those who have the wisdom to study them and walk in them. He that hath ear to hear, let him hear. He that is wise of heart, let him know and understand. And he that hath a heart, a tongue, a pen, a hand, a finger, a mite, or a benevolent desire, let him pray, and labor, and give, till alms and labors and prayers shall be lost in boundless fruition, and glorious rest, and never-ending thanksgivings.

ADDRESS TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF THE STATE

OF NEW YORK :—*As reported by a Committee appointed by the first Annual Meeting of the New-York State Anti-Slavery Society, of which Committee Alvan Stewart, Esq., was Chairman; and was unanimously adopted.*

To rescue the helpless, to resist oppression, to elevate the despised, to combat despotism, to instruct and soften the conscience of the master; to make free, exalt, enlighten and invigorate the faculties of the slave, stand before the world as the objects of prominent pursuit by the New-York State Anti-Slavery Society.

What object so sublime, as that which abates the sufferings of man as a physical being, while it amplifies the undying powers, makes the individual conscious of the greatness of his origin, the superiority of his heaven-descended lineage and his ultimate destiny beyond the oppressions of time, and the cruelties of a transitory world.

What is worthy the pursuit of a tenant of immortality, except what may place his own body and that of his neighbor in the best attitude to have the soul illuminated with the knowledge of itself, of its Author, its obligations to itself, to man, and to God.

But the question is asked every day, who is my neighbor? Every human being, on whom the sun rises or sets, who feels the cold of winter, or the heat of summer, whether he is seated on the throne of power or languishes in the damps of the dungeon, whether he is fed from the table of abundance, or eats his mouldy crust under the shadow of a wall, whether he be the owner of the rice, cotton and sugar fields of the sultry South, or the naked, scar-marked, chain-loaded, whip-beaten, under-fed, and unpaid slave who cultivates them.

No matter where he received his birth; whether idolatry has forged its wretched chains for his mind, whether he be educated to lift his hand on the solitudes of Africa, to strip others of what they have; no matter how great the debasement of mind, even if lost in the mazes of Confucius' infidelity, no matter how that mind has been defiled by the rust of superstition, in a succession of ages, no matter with what fearful orgies of the midnight blaze and flowing blood, the sons of Christendom have robbed the black man of himself; no matter how solemn the form by which the planter of the South, by bargain and sale, by written instruments drawn in conformity to the highwayman's code, may make out his title; yes, let him show his bond for human flesh, no matter how bloody legislation may attempt to create title deeds, by which man may be sold to man; no matter how solemn the form of the last will of the dotard, trembling on the confines of the grave who endeavors to bind the slave to another who has served him through life's brief course; no matter how often he may begin his will, "In the

name of God, amen."—Solemn mockery ! God-insulting adjuration ! Yes, let their Southern lawyers bring their 40,000 recorded wills, let us behold these men, scoffers now, in their noiseless graves, binding 500,000 human beings, to eternal slavery, calling on God with an "amen"—"so might it be," to ratify what might raise a blush on a ruined archangel's cheek ; no matter for all this casuistry, this network of fraud, this inversion of truth ; no matter for all these things, the slave is still a man, our brother, and an inheritor of Eternity.—He is still the man who went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves ; and this Society is the Samaritan, who will take him up, bind his wounds, and restore him to himself. Yes, if any thing makes one nearer, and dearer, and more of a neighbor than another, it is because his helplessness and misery demand it, and we must obey the Heavenly mandate. To enlarge the compass of action beyond the efforts of individual benevolence, in behalf of the poor American slave, and form this Society, one year ago, brought together 600 of the choice spirits of this State, the sons of humanity, from the borders of Lake Erie, the hills of Montauk, the mountains of Delaware, the waters of Champlain, the banks of the Hudson, and the shores of Ontario.

American Slavery is a pyramid of crime—a death shade thrown over this guilty land. Though we were driven from this temple of the Most High, dedicated to Him "who is no respecter of persons," by a mob of native Americans—whose principles on that occasion, were the same as those taught in the school of Dante, Marat, and Robespierre, yet we have reason to thank the Source of all good, while these enemies of God and man intended it for our harm, it resulted in our good, in adding many thousands to our numbers. Under the sanction of the principles, embodied in the Constitution of our Society, we are assembled in the same house, a second time, to publish to our countrymen, the secrets and movements of our Society, with our future intentions. These principles and intentions are inscribed on the hearts of the benevolent, and make their home in the temple of eternal Justice. They are principles which are not depending upon the ebullitions of a floating, unthinking mob, who will shout hosannas to-day, and crucifixion to-morrow ; whose minds are unfixed as the whirlwind, one day insulting Heaven and dishonoring earth with fiendish shouts over prostrate humanity, while the next, they build temples to canonize the ashes of the victims whom they have immolated, and then place in the highest niche of human remembrance, that man as philanthropist, when dead, who, when living, was loaded with obloquy, and covered with reproach. These principles bind in holy harmony a band of philanthropists, who deride the scorn of the haughty, who love the lowest being invested with a never dying-mind, who move forward and upward against the descending stream of popular violence, carrying consolation and deliverance to the prisoner—unawed by the bold front of de-

dance, but upheld and cheered by the rewards of the final judgment ; when the master and slave, the scorner and the scorned, the oppressor and the oppressed, shall stand up for a final analysis of character, before that Judge, at whose presence the heavens and earth will flee away.

To lend energy to truth, to give confidence to virtue, to be numbered with the feeble, to take seats with the humble, to divide our substance with the hungry, never to forsake the dumb, never to cease displaying the slave's wrongs to this guilty age, always to continue haunting the imagination of this slave-grinding nation, with the crimes of the past, the wickedness of the present, and the accountability in the future; while at the same time we implore the Parent of the Universe, to hear the cries of the millions of his helpless children, which are ascending day and night from the slave-cursed fields of southern despotism ; are objects lying near our hearts.

VIEW OF SLAVERY.

Let us take a view of slavery, as it appears in masses, either for the purpose of seeing the amount of robbery, committed on slaves of this land, as a question of money ; or the amount of brutal chastisement inflicted to obtain the labor performed:—and then let us examine briefly the constitutional power of Congress, to abolish the internal American slave trade, now prosecuted with most of the horrors, which accompanied the old African Slave-trade.

There are at least 500,000 slaves in the slave states, each of whom, at the present prices of produce, earns over and above his wretched subsistence \$200 per annum, or one hundred millions of dollars. The other 2,000,000 of slaves we put down as earning no more than their miserable subsistence, which is, beyond a doubt, greatly undervaluing their labors. This calculation leaves the slaveholders in the receipt of a nett income of one hundred millions of dollars, not one dollar of which belongs to the slaveholder, but every dollar ought to be the slaves'. To obtain this one hundred millions of dollars from the poor slave there are inflicted at least, on an average, twenty lashes or blows on the person of each slave, which would not be inflicted, were they not slaves, amounting to fifty millions of lashes, on the two and a half millions of slaves, or in other words, a blow is struck for every two dollars earned by the slave. The fifty millions of lashes, is the return the slaveholder makes as a compensation for the \$100,000,000 earned for the masters by the poor slaves.

The united robberies, piracies, forgeries, counterfeit-money-passing, and thefts of the whole world for one year will not equal the sum of which the American slaves are robbed annually. The American slave has been robbed every day, for 200 years gone by, by a people whose chivalry consists in the generosity of *that act*. The fifty millions of lashes struck on the American slaves, (which would not be if

they were free) exceed all the acts of cruelty of the civilized and barbarian world beside. Yes, the twelve slave states of America are the head quarters of cruelty for the world; the residence of duelling, the native land of Lynch law, where its professors reside and its scholars practice. These states are the asylum of piracy made respectable by the sanctions of law, where immortal minds are ruined, *in the wholesale*, by constitutional edicts; where the marriage contract is exchanged for wandering adultery. This is the land dedicated to amalgamation, where 500,000 mulattoes testify the affection and *honorable love* existing, between the *master*, and the *female slave*. This is the land where fathers sell children, and brothers and sisters, sell brothers and sisters. This is the same land whose clergy have found a curious edition of the Bible, sustaining these acts upon the authority of divine commands. These are the lands, where the instinct of the blood hound is improved by pursuing, overtaking, and revelling in human flesh. This is the chivalrous land, the inhabitants of which, for fear of insurrection, are pillowed on guns, pistols, and swords! Here are the great man, woman, and children, flesh markets of the world.—Immortal souls are the merchandize of the auction room. This is the land where Abolitionists are threatened, defamed, and put to death. This is the land which threatens the dissolution of the confederacy. This is the Land of SLAVES.

WHAT HAVE ABOLITIONISTS DONE ?

But it is sometimes asked what have Abolitionists done to terminate abuses so shocking, and outrages so insupportable? If any cause could excite self congratulation, and stimulate to noble and expanded exertions, in behalf of the future, it is the cause of Abolition. What cause ever before in less than three years, in the face of obloquy, and a nation's opposition, was found able to organize between six and seven hundred societies, comprising the most elevated piety, the warmest philanthropy, the most distinguished talents, with untiring industry.

In the space of three years, the attention of several State Legislatures, have been awakened. Almost a fifth of the time of the last Congress of the nation, was consumed in the discussion of the lost rights of the slave; and the gaze of the world has been fixed on this great struggle of suffering humanity.

If the cause of Abolition had secured nothing more, than such universal attention, and such formidable combinations for its suppression, it would have been ground for the most devout thankfulness. But this is not all. The Abolitionists have measured swords with the slave-holder, on several great questions, in their infancy, with entire success.

THE SLAVEHOLDERS FOILED.

The slaveholders of 1835 and 1836, demanded,

1st. An expression of Congress, that it was unconstitutional to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and the Territories of the nation. But the slaveholders were *foiled*:—Congress refused to utter that wicked sentiment; and that refusal is equivalent to a verdict, exactly the reverse of what the slaveholders insolently demanded; and it is an acknowledgement that Congress has the power to abolish slavery in the District and Territories.

2d. The slaveholders demanded that Congress should not receive the petitions of Abolitionists; but Congress decided they would receive them.

3d. The South asked Congress by law to gag the press, by a system of espionage to confer on the 10,000 Deputy Post Masters a power to *peep* and *pry* into every secret that passed through the mails, so as to exclude all anti-slavery written or printed communications, from a passage into the slave states. But this bill, Congress, after solemn deliberation, and long discussion, *refused* to pass, but passed, in favor of abolitionists, a law, which is the converse of the slaveholders' defeated bill. In the 32d section of the new post office law of last winter Congress has made it a penalty not exceeding \$500, and imprisonment not more than six months, and a removal from office, together with a disqualification to hold, forever thereafter, the office of Post Master, for delaying any letter, newspaper, or package, on its passage, to its destination, or for refusing to transmit, or deliver said letter, paper or package, to its proprietor. This is all abolitionists could ask, in order to redress such outrages as those of Charleston and New York were last year. In fact this law is powerful in its consequences, and no postmaster will dare delay the passage or delivery of the most "violent" anti-slavery pamphlet or newspaper, a single minute, short of forfeiting his office, and subjecting himself to the penalty of a dungeon.

No abolitionist could have asked for a sterner law for his protection than Congress made in reply to the slave-holders' insolent demand.

4th. The governors of many of the slave states insolently demanded, by messages, and special communications, directed to the free states of the North, that the Legislatures of these states, should violate their own constitutions, and set at nought their Magna Chartas, and pass laws forbidding the existence of Anti-Slavery Societies, suppress speeches, or writings against slavery. But the free states refused to comply with one iota of these demands.

5th. Southern Legislatures have by resolutions, made the same request as their governors and met with no better success.

6th. The South have done homage to the abolition sentiment at the North, by keeping their slaves at home and not insulting our feelings,

by their presence the summer past, in such numbers as formerly. Two reasons have operated on them to do this: 1st. They felt ashamed to acknowledge themselves slaveholders by such palpable evidence. 2d. The fears of the slave's escape, or that the slave having been brought here by his master, the slave became free, the moment he touched our soil. For the law for delivering up slaves, applies to fugitives, and not to slaves brought here by their masters; all of whom are free, the moment their feet rest upon the soil of any free state, unless the slave is registered according to law.

7th. The decision of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, one of the most distinguished courts for legal talents to be found in this or any other civilized land, has decided the past summer that all slaves brought into that state by their masters become instantly free: which proposition or decision is equally true of all the other free states. If this decision is not correct, a slaveholder might bring a gang of slaves with him here for six months at a time, and thus trample on the laws of the free states, as well as insult the feelings of all good men. This he can not do without permission of the state given him by law.

The decision of the Court of Massachusetts will be found to be, with the argument which supports it, an important bulwark of American liberty. If this decision be not sound law, this monstrous consequence must follow, that a free state would allow a foreigner or a citizen of another state, privileges denied to its own citizens.

It has always been considered in the law of nations, that great comity was shown the citizen of another state, if he was put on an equal footing with the citizens of the country whose hospitality he enjoyed: But to allow a Virginian to be followed by a train of trembling slaves, to this state would be not only to place that individual above our own citizens, but also above the laws and institutions of the state itself. But as self-evident as this proposition seems, its assertion at this time, from so high a source, can not but be regarded as one of the most cheering evidences in favor of the principles of abolition and humanity; and, in fact, it may be regarded as one of the great landmarks, in the noble career of *universal emancipation*.

The year 1836 will ever be remembered as a year in which Christian philanthropists in Great Britain extended their noble hands to our aid, in the most dignified expressions of kindness and sympathy. We can not but regard the friendship of the great, the good, and the powerful in England at this time as one of the most cheering circumstances to arouse the desponding, and sustain the true hearted, amidst the persecutions of slaveholders, or the insults of their apologists. Nothing has more employed the attention of good men in England the summer past than in learning the nature and horrors of American slavery. To such a point of detestation has the slaveholder sunk in English estimation, that it is believed none of the first men of the southern states, who are slaveholders, would be admitted into good English

society, where the fact was known, any sooner than persons who were smugglers, or engaged in the African slave trade.

We should be much surprised, if the same course of treatment in less than seven years should not be pursued by the best class of society in the free states towards the slaveholders.

It may be laid down, as indisputable from the foregoing statements, that the slaveholders have been driven from every position, they endeavored to occupy, and routed most disgracefully, on their own chosen field of battle. Yes, they have been beaten at all points from their high-handed and wicked attempts to cut off the slave's chance of escape from his chains.

SOUTHERN CHIVALRY.

Perhaps it is wrong not to award what is even due to a chivalrous slaveholder. It must not be denied, and justice compels us to admit, that 60 slaveholders in Tennessee, in the summer of 1835, did surround, take, and arrest Amos Dresser, an abolitionist—a harmless, pious, talented young gentleman, traveling through that state—and whipped him 20 lashes on the naked back, because he was a member of an abolition society in Ohio, and then banished him from the state. The chivalrous citizens of the State of Georgia, in the year 1836, surrounded, waylaid, and took a Mr. Kitchell, a citizen of New Jersey, a pious youth, a recent graduate of the Theological Seminary at Princeton, traveling in the South, on account of infirm health, upon the suspicion of being an Abolitionist, (which it is since understood he was not) and tarred, feathered, and violently beat him, and expelled him from the state. Thus we see how glorious the laurels of chivalry appear in the victories won on the fields of Tennessee in 1835, and the no less auspicious campaign which filled the cup of Georgia's renown in 1836.

The slaveholder the summer past, has been following his usual chivalrous pursuits—the recapturing of fugitive slaves in the free states—and in some instances has been successful in reducing to a second bondage, those who had been beyond chains and whips ten and fifteen years, by the aid of those supple instruments of tyranny—the well paid constable and justice of peace, whose consciences are more alive to an obedience to the requisition of the act of Congress for retaking fugitive slaves, than they are to the loudest calls of humanity. Yes, had the slave the same sum of money to pay the magistrate and constable for his escape, which the master pays for his judicial kidnapping, few fugitive slaves would ever cross Mason & Dixon's line a second time.

Let the finger of this world's scorn be pointed to that officer, judicial or ministerial, who shall lend himself to the slaveholder to reduce a man a second time to bondage, who will for the slaveholder's gold basely convert the writ of *habeas corpus*, the slave's passport to freedom, into a writ of eternal imprisonment, by which a slave is taken from the

custody of himself and equal laws, and delivered to an enraged and lawless master, from whom death can only discharge him.

COLOR IN A QUANDRARY !

The amalgamation compound of the Anglo-Saxon and African blood adds annually 15,000 human beings to the slave population in the shape of mulattoes, as a triumph on the part of the slaveholder over the supposed dignity of the white man, by making an intermediate landmark between the extreme casts.

The slaveholder talks of sending the manumitted slave to Africa as the land of his origin. What will he do with the mulattoes ? Upon that principle, the poor mulatto must spend one year in Africa, and then one year in England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, or wherever, in Europe, the ancestor of his white American father came from ; so this compound of Europe and Africa must spend his life in a perpetual pilgrimage, in going from one continent to another, dividing and spending the remainder of his existence in the pursuit of the countries of his ancestor's origin. In fact, if the friends of the argument of hunting up the countries of remote origin of one's race, should think it too inconvenient for the mulatto, perhaps their humanity might be induced to allow them some intermediate island, as a half-way house, where they might rest themselves equidistant from ancestral origin.

But what mulatto in the United States, who has come to the years of discretion, but has pitied the mother slave, who bore him, and cursed his white father. Yes, *cursed him* for his or her existence ; cursed him for giving him a body to ruin a soul ; cursed him for this body in which the immortal soul withers ! Oh ! might the mulatto slave cry out, " what ! can I thank my white father for a body, which is not my own, which is but a thing ! thank him for that body which is exposed to every indignity, blows and abuse. Thank him for that body which my father, my brothers or my sisters, my nephews, nieces and even my grandfather may sell under the auction hammer to pay the debts or buy bread-stuffs for members of the church, in the land of Chivalry. Shall my father eat me indirectly by consuming what is given for me in exchange on a sale of my body ? Oh ! horrid Christianity ! which can uphold such practices as these ! No paganism which is not better than such Christianity as this."

SLAVEHOLDERS UNMASKED.

The abolitionists of the year 1836 have compelled the slaveholder to unmask himself and show the world his insincere heart, while heretofore he professed to regard slavery as an evil, and wished it might come an end. This, they admit now to be *false*, and that they regard to slavery as a blessing, and the substratum of the social edifice ; as desirable for its own sake, and the best state of things of which the nature of human institutions admit, and they intend to perpetuate these

blessings to future generations, securing their continuance to the end of the world.

THE UNION DISSOLVED.

The slaveholders have dissolved the Union so far as the 100,000 abolitionists are concerned. No abolitionist, however distinguished he may be in the circles of learning, piety, talents, or philanthropy, can place his foot on slavery's soil. If he does, he sinks below the slave, into the grave, by the hands of lawless violence. All law is powerless in his defence. The abolitionist stands alone. The federal compact yields no relief. The slaveholders rush upon him with the ferocity of savage demons, and lynch him into eternity. This is the natural fruit of slavery.

CONTINUED PIRACY.

The same brute force, which the forefathers of the present proprietors of slaves, employed in the forests of Africa, at the dread hour of midnight, to reduce the slave to possession, is now used by their chivalrous descendants to maintain their jurisdiction over the descendants of the kidnapped African.

The abolition of the old African slave trade, was accomplished by the passage of six different acts of Congress, from 1807 to 1824, by which every succeeding act, increased the penalty for bringing a person into this country, to make him a slave, until the punishment was death—the pirate's doom. The internal slave trade between the several states in this country, violates the same principles of justice and humanity which were violated by the old African slave trade, now abolished under the penalty of death.

What is more plain, than the remedy for this glaring atrocity?

POWERS OF CONGRESS.—INTERNAL SLAVE TRADE.

The same words, clauses, and sections, of the Constitution, which gave Congress the power to abolish the African slave trade, give Congress the ability to pass a law, to abolish the internal slave trade, now carried on between the slave states, in defiance of the loudest cries of humanity.

Congress has power given it by the Constitution to regulate the commerce between the several states. What commerce can be of so high a character, or so important in its consequences, as a traffic in human beings, to the amount of more than 120,000 persons annually? More than double the amount ever imported from Africa, before the abolition of the slave trade, amounting in value from fifty to sixty millions of dollars annually.

Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the western parts of North and South Carolina, grow negroes, as an article of traffic for the more southern states.

In fact, these states are supposed to receive as much money from abroad for their negroes sold to go out of their states, as for all other products exported beside.

FOREIGN SLAVE TRADE.

Let that same principle of humanity be the guiding genius of American councils, and abolish the slave trade between the states, which smote with uplifted and powerful hand, the slave trade with Africa, and slavery itself would die a natural death from its own oppressive weight in the slave-selling states, while the abounding soils of the far South, must two thirds of them be cultivated by freemen, or lie waste.

FOREIGN SLAVE TRADE COMPARED WITH THE DOMESTIC.

Did the South vote to abolish the slave trade with Africa, for the meretricious purpose of monopolizing the slave market of the world, and creating one on the American soil, transcending, in the annals of its cruelty, all that Clarkson or Wilberforce has told of Africa's desolations? Is it so! were northern statesmen and philanthropists sleeping at their posts, in allowing the southern states, for twenty years after the adoption of the Constitution, to ransack the coasts and interior of Africa, and tear from her, her affrighted and screaming sons and daughters, to turn them into slaves, merely as seed, to lay and spread a broad foundation for a future slave trade on the shores of America? Oh! horror! Is all this seeming repentance for the wrongs done ill-fated Africa, by which our laws inhibit the importation of slaves under the penalty of death and the pirate's fate, a mere bubble, a device of trade, amounting to prohibition from abroad, to increase the value of a trade of the same description at home? Has the slave trade of Africa been banished under a scale of ascending penalties, terminating in a pirate's death, barely to introduce a slave trade into America, the victims of which, in part, are the sons and daughters of white men, and thus make white blood and black blood share the terrors of the American domestic slave trade, vastly exceeding in point of numbers, annually, those imported from Africa, in any one year, from 1789 to 1808? And inasmuch as the slaves of Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the mountain parts of the two Carolinas, are better informed, and cultivated in their knowledge of right and wrong, than the nations of Africa, by so much the more are their sufferings increased in being torn from their natal soil, and the relatives they have, than the less informed children of Africa.

HORRORS OF THIS TRAFFIC.

The slave has no interest in property or things, or in the soil. His whole earthly interest is in the love and sympathy of his relations, and in the beings for whom he has formed strong attachments in his youthful days. Therefore, he is, by a removal from those places where he

as raised, and in severing all the bonds that make life supportable, doubly robbed—always of himself, and lastly of his friends and relations. The only objects that rendered him able to bear the burden of life are taken from him by this awful traffic. Hundreds commit suicide every year, and rush into the next world, being stripped of every thing in this, by which life might be sustained. The slave has nothing but what exists in the social affections: strip him of those objects, and his misery must be perfect—his agony helpless. No man can tell the story of such bereavement, who has not been torn as a slave from the soil where he was born, to bid an eternal farewell to all his friends and relations—the only property or interest he possesses (if so it may be called,) on this earth. He is never permitted to revisit those friends to whom he can never write. An impassable gulph separates them! No. He parts with all he loves, at once, forever, never to be renewed on the shore of time; not for his own interest, not for a noble act of benevolence. No.—He goes to wear out his life for another, as a slave under the whip, for that man, who never thanks him for his labor, but rewards him with hunger, nakedness, stripes, sorrow, and contempt,—till the grave, pitying him, takes and forever shelters in its bosom, the son of toil, misery, insult and pain. It is said not less than 120,000 are taken annually, from the northern slave states to the far South.

EFFECTS OF COLONIZING.

Every attempt by the South to aid the Colonization Society, to send free colored people to Africa, enhances the value of the slave left on the soil. By sending off free colored people, to Africa, there is no competition with the slave on the soil, for the purpose of labor. The slaveholder controls the entire sinews of labor by his own will, and can fix his own price. If there were free colored persons, to hire themselves out on the plantations of Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas, the slaveholders of Virginia, and the other slave growers, would find a competitor, in those sugar and cotton states, in the free laborer, whom the slaveholders are desirous of removing, that they may sell their slaves.

IMPORTANCE OF ABOLISHING THIS TRAFFIC.

But let the internal slave trade be abolished and slavery would come to an end by its own weight, in Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee and the western parts of North and South Carolina. These countries, in which Americans are grown for the internal slave trade, (Oh shameless trade!) if these slave growers could not send their surplus Americans abroad, and sell them at great prices, would sink under the weight of a population whom their old exhausted slave soil could never support. And they would be compelled to manumit their colored people from necessity if they were forbidden under penalties such as

are inflicted on those in the slave trade with Africa, from sending them out of the state, or territory, or district where the slaves happened to be. The far South would be compelled to abandon slave labor and employ free colored people, in a great degree, if they could no longer import slaves from abroad to supply the havoc created by overworking, underfeeding, and an unhealthy climate.

Again, slavery never can be abolished in the District of Columbia, or the Territories, with any expectation of advantage, until the internal slave trade is abolished between the states. For the moment the slaveholder in the District of Columbia, or in the Territories, perceived a law was about to be passed for the abolition of slavery in the District, or Territories, before such a law could be passed, the District of Columbia or the Territories would be stripped of their slaves, who would be sent off in coffles and sold at auction in some of the slave states. Thus it becomes every way important that Congress should exercise its unquestionable constitutional power, and restrain the "migration" of slaves from one state, one district, or one territory to another, under the heaviest penalties, such as would be obeyed.

THE CONSTITUTION.

The fourth clause of the eighth section of the first article of the Constitution of the United States says, that Congress shall have power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian Tribes."

The first clause of the ninth section of the first article of the Constitution says that "the migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit: shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding \$10, for each person."

The authority to abolish the domestic slave trade, between the states, is derived from fourth clause of the eighth section above cited, and the prohibition of the exercise of the power of Congress, by the Constitution until 1808, by the ninth section of the same article (which alludes to the question of slavery alone,) is conclusive evidence that the framers of the Constitution itself, understood the power to be conferred by the fourth clause of the eighth section, or else the prohibition of the exercise of this power, in the ninth section until 1808 would have been useless. For it is a principle of construction admitted, that a power to do an act can not be raised by implication, from any clause of the Constitution, unless it become necessary, to exert that power by legislation to carry into effect some acknowledged power of the Constitution. Therefore the Constitution construes the eighth section "to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states," as being a source of authority by which Congress might abolish the foreign slave trade, and also the internal slave trade amongst the states.

But it may be urged that a power to regulate commerce, does not carry with it a power to destroy it. This objection has often been raised, but always overruled by the decision, that a power to regulate commerce is the same as a power to create and destroy, to make or unmake, and therefore Congress under the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations or among the states, has power to abolish any particular traffic or commerce which Congress believes to be unprofitable to the nation, or disgraceful to its humanity. Congress in six distinct acts from 1808 to 1824, passed for the abolition and utter extinction of the African slave trade, has acknowledged the construction now contended, for that a power to regulate, is a power to alter, change, modify, abolish or annihilate. Unless this proposition be true, these acts abolishing the African slave trade would be unconstitutional and void, as well as a host of other statutes deriving their power from the same source. Congress has power under the word "regulate" utterly to annihilate commerce with a particular nation, by embargoes, acts of perpetual non-intercourse, and finally, by open war, which is the end of all commercial relations.

It may be inquired, how can the traffic, or commerce amongst the states, or between one state and another in relation to slaves be regulated? In the first place, the *states* as between two or more of them have no power by treaty, or legislation, to regulate this matter as long as slavery is permitted in those states: for Virginia can not pass a law that a man from Maryland importing a slave from Maryland, shall be subject to a penalty of \$500, or 3 years imprisonment, or that the slave *ipso facto*, by having been brought from Maryland to Virginia should be free: Because the citizen of Maryland might cite the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States in which it is declared "that the citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states," which the state of Virginia cannot overthrow.

In subjecting a Marylander to forfeiture, loss of liberty, or any other penalty in Virginia, for importing his slaves with himself, would be a course of treatment shown to the Marylander, not recognized by Virginia towards her own citizens, for having slaves in their possession the law would be unconstitutional and void, *as the law of a state*. If the individual states have not power to prevent the slave's migrating by command of the master from one state to another, it would follow, unless Congress has jurisdiction of the subject matter, that the internal slave trade among the states must be beyond the reach of the individual states or the power of Congress. This is an absurdity, which we are not prepared to believe or adopt, that a subject so fraught with abuses, at the horrors of which the civilized world might grow pale—should have placed itself beyond federal or state legislation. The motives which appeared to influence the passage of the six different laws to abolish the African slave trade were the irrepressible gush-

ings of our common humanity in favor of the suffering slave, torn from his native land and sold into hopeless captivity. No interest but general humanity prompted the legislation which forever shut down the hatchway on that bloody trade. Humanity now cries aloud—she goes in our streets—she weeps and howls on our highways—she knocks at the door of public feeling till her locks are wet with the cold dews of night—she goes across the ocean—she pleads not in vain for friends to fly to the rescue—she, through England, has sent back her indignant voice like the sound of many waters, to fall on the guilty slaveholder's ear in America.

Motives and reasons for abolishing the slave trade between the states are greater as far as the question of humanity is concerned, than in the old slave trade. No doubt, there are twice as many groans, sighs and agonies felt, suffered and endured from the American slave trade among the states, as felt by the slaves brought from Africa to the United States in any one year, between 1789 to 1808.

Yes, two persons, at least, suffer the horrors of migration from one state to another, where one suffered by importation from the coasts of Africa to the United States. The word "migration" employed in the first clause of the ninth section of the first article, is significant indeed, and means nothing more nor less than going from one state to another, not from one part of the State to another; not coming from a foreign country beyond sea, that would be met by the other word "importation" which the abolition of the African slave trade undertook to prevent, in the six statutes passed for its abolition.

CONCLUSION.

It is firmly believed, that were a rigorous law passed by Congress, forbidding the internal slave trade between the states, that it would be equivalent to the manumission on the soil of two thirds of the slaves in the United States in less than ten years.

It is therefore earnestly desired that every Anti-Slavery Society, or individuals who may petition Congress on the subject, may make the annihilation of the domestic, or internal slave trade between the states, a point of the most prominent importance, and pray for its entire ABOLITION.

ALVAN STEWART,

Chairman of the Committee.

APPENDIX.

LETTER OF JUDGE JAY.

BEDFORD, 26th September, 1836.

REV. SIR—In my letter to you last November accepting the office of President of the New-York Anti-Slavery Society I remarked “the distance of my residence from the place in which the business of the Society is to be conducted, will render my office nearly nominal, and I should therefore decline it, were it not for the efforts now making to frighten American citizens into the surrender of their dearest and most undoubted rights. Under existing circumstances, my duty both as a Christian and a republican, in my opinion, requires me to avoid even the appearance of shrinking from the maintenance of those rights, and I therefore cheerfully accept the place with which it has pleased the Convention to honor me.”

Believing that my motives will not now be liable to misconstruction, I beg the favor of you, sir, to submit this my resignation of the office to the Society, at its approaching anniversary. It seems to me a good general rule that no one should hold an office, the duties of which he is unable to discharge, and I feel too deep an interest in the welfare of the Society, willingly to deprive it of the services it may derive from an efficient President.

On retiring from the chair, I will take the liberty of making a few remarks on the character of the struggle in which we are engaged. We commenced the present struggle to obtain the freedom of the slave—we are compelled to continue it to preserve our own. We are now contending, not so much with the slaveholders of the South about human rights, as with the political and commercial aristocracy of the North, for the liberty of speech, of the press, and of conscience. Our politicians are selling our constitutions and laws for southern votes—our great capitalists are speculating, not merely in lands and banks, but also in the liberties of the people. We are called to contemplate a spectacle never, I believe, before witnessed—the wealthy portion of the community, striving to introduce anarchy and violence on a calculation of profit, making merchandise of peace and good order! In Boston, we have seen the editor of a newspaper led through the streets with a halter, by “gentlemen of property and standing.” The New-York mobs were excited, not by the humble penny-press, but by the malignant falsehoods and insurrectionary appeals of certain commercial journals. Rich and honorable men in Cincinnati have recently, at a public meeting, proclaimed lynch law, and through their influence a printing press devoted to freedom has been destroyed, and the whole affair we are coolly and truly told, was a *business transaction*.

The rioters in Utica, who insulted the Common Council, and bid defiance to its authority, and who forcibly dispersed a meeting of peaceable and religious men, voted themselves to be “good and reputable citizens!” Until lately, it was supposed that the political influence of wealth was conservative, and that the rich would array themselves on the side of law and order, for their own security. It is, however, a fact no less wonderful than melancholy, that the Jacobins of the present day are to be found among the rich and powerful, and that our penal laws seem made only for the poor and the despised. Journeymen mechanics, are indicted and punished for violations of law utterly insignificant in their character and tendency, compared with the outrages committed last year at Utica. Yet the first Judge of Oneida, one of the perpetrators of those outrages remains on the bench, another gentleman, distinguished by his violence on that occasion, has been

elevated to the place of Attorney General of the State of New York, in which capacity he will no doubt be ready to assist, when required, in prosecutions against Trades Unions?

It can not be, it is not in human nature, that judges and lawyers and rich merchants, will long enjoy the exclusive privilege of trampling upon the laws. These men are sowing the wind and they will reap the whirlwind. They may see the buddings of their harvest in the recent assaults on the Holland Land Company. When the tempest of anarchy they are now raising, shall sweep over the land, it will not be the humble abolitionist, but the lofty possessor of power and fortune, who will first be levelled by the blast.

The dangers which now threaten the tranquillity of society, the security of property, and the continuance of freedom, unite in calling upon abolitionists to put forth all their energies in extending the knowledge and influence of their truly conservative principles. Founded as our Anti-Slavery Societies are, upon the great precepts of Christianity, occupied in explaining and inculcating the rights of man, acknowledging the obligations of human laws in all cases not contravening the injunctions of the Supreme Lawgiver, and amid insult and outrage, avenging not themselves, but committing their cause to him who judgeth righteously, they present an example and exert an influence well calculated to counteract the venal and disorganizing spirit which is striving to propitiate the demon of slavery, by sacrificing on his altar, the liberties of the North.

The obligations of religion and patriotism, the duties we owe ourselves, our children, the cause of freedom and the cause of humanity, all require us to be faithful to our principles, to persevere in our exertions, and to surrender our rights only with our breath. Duties are ours, and consequences are God's; and while we discharge the first, we may be confident that the latter will be entirely consistent with our true welfare.

With the best wishes for the usefulness of the Society and the happiness of its members,

I have the honor to be, Rev. Sir,
Your very obt^d serv^t,
WILLIAM JAY.

REV. OLIVER WETMORE.

LETTER OF REV. S. S. JOCELYN.

NEW YORK, Oct. 15th, 1836.

REV. BERRIAH GREEN,

Very Dear Brother—Your very kind and urgent invitation to attend the anniversary of the State Anti Slavery Society on the 19th inst. can hardly be resisted, and nothing but stern necessity will keep me from the meeting. That necessity exists, and my high gratification must be disappointed. I look to this meeting as one of great moment, and I cannot doubt that the God of the oppressed will incline his servants in great numbers to attend it to mingle their counsels and prayers together for the glorious object before the friends of Human Rights.

The Convention last year, held at Utica, to form the State Society, was one of the most extraordinary character and important ever known in the world.—Our enemies at its first announcement so regarded it, hence their violent opposition through the press. It was regarded as the most daring and contemptuous disregard of public opinion, at a time when the enemy felt as if his foot was upon our neck. Blessed be God that he inspired his servants to stand upon their feet, and made their faces brass, and their foreheads adamant, and although in the result with violence driven out from the Temple of the Lord, he gave them favor and caused them to triumph. May there be no occasion through the short-sightedness and wickedness

of the enemies for such a triumph now, but may the way of the Lord be open and may your feet be set upon a large place, and the enemies submit themselves to the holy principles which have so long agitated their guilty consciences. Should you meet with any obstructions may you see how easy, through faith, they may be removed.

Among the various topics which will come before the meeting, nothing is more important than the question of caste, and the improvement of the colored people generally. Aside from the value of a right decision on the subject of caste and the importance of the improvement of the people of color in reference to themselves, the importance of this question to the anti-slavery cause cannot be estimated. I have had intercourse with persons from the South this year who are slaveholders, and learn from their opinions that nothing would tend more directly to break down slavery, than for us at the North to treat our colored brethren according to their conduct, irrespective of color. The South will harden in view of our hypocrisy, if we profess to hate slavery and yet continue to treat our colored brethren as outcasts. Do bring up this subject and have it examined in all its parts. I doubt not the result, and trust that the Society will give a tone to public opinion, at least so far as professed abolitionists are concerned, which will never be counteracted. As we have claimed more for the colored man than any class of abolitionists have in our country heretofore, we have created a deference to colored persons which never existed before. True it is, that there are contrary results in some instances, but the country as a whole never thought half so much or so highly of colored persons as they do now. Let us make an extraordinary effort for their improvement, and treat them as we ought, and others will follow our example, however much they may oppose us at first. You will be happy to learn that we have appointed three agents to labor for the improvement of the colored people. Rev. Mr. Miter, Mr. Wattles, and Mr. Yates, all very dear brethren, who have much knowledge of the colored people, having labored much with them heretofore. This is an omen of great good. We shall want many more such men in this department. My heart is full as I write on this subject, and I long to be wholly occupied in this blessed work. May our blessed Savior be with you all, and give you wisdom and strength, and may there go forth from the meeting on the 19th, a divine influence, full of power and life; and may the land thereby the sooner be cleansed from its blood, and the millions of the victims of slavery sooner rejoice in their freedom, and in the liberty wherewith Christ maketh us free. With love to all the brethren, and full of hope in view of your meeting,

I am, dear brother,

Your fellow laborer

in the cause of the oppressed,

SIMEON S. JOCELYN.

I trust that the Society will take decisive measures in reference to securing places for colored youth at trades. Let every abolitionist secure a place for one youth at least—this can easily be done. Our work must be individual as well as collective in its character.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

New-York State Anti-Slavery Society,

In account with S. Kellogg, Treasurer,

Cr.

1835.						
Oct.	26	By cash rec'd at Peterboro', (a collection,)				\$238 79
	27	" " " from Mrs. Huntington, of Peterboro, per Mrs. Smith,				2
Nov.	5	" " " of J. Copeland,				1
	20	" " Donation of Charles Stuart, per Rev. Mr. Wetmore,				10
	"	" " Donation of Wm. Jay, Esq.				100
	27	" " rec'd of Seth Conklin, per S. H. Addington,				100
Dec.	3	" " " " Abram Neeley,				1
	17	" " " " Wm. H. Mowry of Greenwich, Washington county,				30
	24	" " " " A. E. Coleman, per A. Raymond,				5
	"	" " " " E. S. Cadwell, \$10, and C. C. Cadwell \$3, per S. Sook,				13
	28	" " " for the pledge of J. C. Knowles, per Geo. Miller,				10
1836.						
Jan.	7	" " " of Sarah Lord \$5, of J. W. Smith, and R. Snell \$25,				30
	"	" " " " " E. Campbell of Lebanon,				19
	12	" " " " the Clinton A. S. S, per Mr. Stewart.				12
	23	" " " " H. H. Kellogg, Young Ladies' Domestic Seminary, Clinton,				20
	29	" " " " Oswego Free Church, per Mr. Cogswell,				10
Feb.	9	" " " from Fayetteville A. S. S. per Rev. Mr. Smith,				35
	12	" " " of John M. Andrew, of Russia,				1
	16	" " " " Rev. John Waters,				5
	25	" " " " Henry Brewster Esq., \$50, of A. J. Burr, \$10,				60
March	14	" " " Donation \$1 12, cash of Isaac Mills \$5,				6 12
	"	" " " " Subscription,				15 50
	28	" " " of N. West,				3
April	22	" " " " Mr. Myrick,				3
	27	" " " " Mr. Smith \$5, cash at collection \$1 09,				6 09
June	9	" " " " Elias Childs,				3
	24	" " " " Thomas Powell,				6 50
July	2	" " " from the Depository per Rev. O. Wetmore,				30
	6	" " " " two friends in Augusta per Rev. L. H. Loss,				8
	18	" " " of Arba Blair Esq. \$25, from office \$30,				55
	19	" " " from Otsego Co. A. S. S. \$72, from office \$79,				151
	30	" " " " office per Rev. O. Wetmore,				40
Aug.	2	" " " per Rev. L. H. Loss,				5
	6	" " " of Utica Female A. S. S.				12
	"	" " " from the Depository,				54
						\$1,100 00

1836.		Amount brought over,	\$1,100 00
Aug.	11	" " " " Cassville A. S. S.	22 18
	16	" " " of H. Phoenix \$30, from office \$39,	69
	18	" " " from Rome A. S. S., per S. B. Roberts,	15
	30	" " " " Otsego Co. A. S. S. \$10, Win. Copt-land \$1,	11
	"	" " " " of Mr. Avery, Sherburne \$1, from office \$40,	41
Sept.	1	" " " " Mr. De Forest,	5
	14	" " " " Orin Stevens,	5
	17	" " " " C. Green of Mechanicksville,	20
	"	" " " " from office,	25
	26	" " " " of Mr. L. Wilcox,	13 87
	28	" " " " Mrs. A. Day,	10
Oct.	11	" " " " O. N. Bush's check, dated Nov. 1, 1836,	103
	"	" " " " W. D. Walcott	10
	18	" " " " donation of Utica Female Juvenile A. S. S. per A. Savage,	10 68
	19	" " " " of Alvan Stewart,	500
	"	" " " " Mr. Fitch,	100
		Total.	\$2,060 73

New-York State Anti-Slavery Society,

In account with S. Kellogg, Treasurer,

Dr.

1835.			
Oct.	26	To 2 blank books, each \$3, \$2,	5
	31	" " paid for repairing Bleeker street church,	31 38
Nov.	20	" " " draft to S. P. Lyman,	175
	26	" " " " " " "	95
Dec.	3	" " Rev. O. Wetmore per order of Committee,	4
1836.			
Jan.	29	" " Rev. O. Wetmore's order to J. T. Lyman,	100
Feb.	5	" " J. T. Lyman,	79 75
	25	" " postage,	13
	26	" " " on certificate of deposit in Monroe Co. Bank.	38
March	14	" " J. T. Lyman,	176 13
	19	" " cash,	5
May	28	" " William Goodell,	50
June	28	" " 1 3.4 yds. green baise 5s., 16 yds. ferreting 1d.	1 25
July	19	" " Rev. L. Wilcox, per order of Ex. Committee,	63 82
June 1, & July	30	" " Wm. Goodell \$100.—Discount on uncurrent money \$0 29,	100 29
Aug.	3	" " Wm. Goodell,	60
	6	" " Rev. L. Wilcox, per order of Rev. O. Wetmore,	12 84
	29	" " James Sayre for rent,	10
Sept.	15	" " Wm. Goodell,	100
	19	" " 2 blank books \$4 50, 1 bottle red ink 12 1.2cts.	4 63
	26	" " Rev. L. Wilcox for services, &c.	55
	29	" " Wm. C. Rogers,	25
Oct.	19	" " toward press \$207, and for type \$90	297
	"	" " " paper in June last,	239
	"	" " " 18th Oct.,	127 50
		Balance in the hands of the Treasurer,	242 99
		Total.	\$2,060 73

E R R A T A.

The reader is desired to notice and correct the following errors in the preceeding pages, viz :

1. Page 7. List of Executive Committee, third line from the top, for *Joseph S. Mitchell*, Utica, read *John S. Mitchell*, Utica.
 2. Page 14. List of Delegates, first line at the top, for *Burrell* read *Burnell*.
 3. Page 14. List of Delegates, fourth line from the close, instead of *Sandwich Islands* read *Cleveland, Ohio*. [N. B. This brother whose residence was thus erroneously reported, is about to *visit* the Sandwich Islands, instead of having, as was understood, recently *arrived* from there.]
 4. Page 16. Fourth line from the top, supply the word *time* before "must," so that the clause will read thus—"time must show."
 5. Page 36. Seventh line from the top, for "*policy*" read *polity*.
 6. Page 40. Fifth line from the bottom, for "*ear*" read *ears*.
 7. Page 48. Third line from the top, for "*quandrary*" read *quandary*.
 8. Page 42. Third line from the top, connect the words "*men*" and "*scoffers*" thus—*men-scoffers*.
 9. Same page. Near the middle, for "*Dante*" read *Danton*.
 10. Page 44. Fifth line from the bottom, instead of "*combinations for its suppression*" read "*combinations for the overthrow of slavery*."
- [It is due to the printer to say that the greater part of these errors were in the copy.]